



PHD

An Investigation Of The Different Modalities Of Schooling And Their Implications For Health Education

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DIFFERENT MODALITIES OF SCHOOLING AND
THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH EDUCATION

Helen Therese Byrne

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Education

July 2016

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Abstract

The role of the significance of organisational culture has been historically difficult to define and apply to the school setting. This thesis is concerned with the factors that contribute to the modality (ie. the most typical way of being) of a school and the ways in which this interacts with the teaching and learning of Health Education in England.

It draws on the works of Bernstein, Daniels and Vygotsky, where their ideas of power and control are mediated both through discourse and action at both the micro-level of the classroom and the macro-level of the school as an organisation. Their theories form the link between what happens at the level of pupil learning within the school and the outcomes of the pedagogy that is taught. The health aspects can be integrated with the above by combining Antonovsky's concepts of Salutogenesis and 'sense of coherence'.

Four High Schools within one English LEA participated in the research in 2008. Collected data included interviews, observations and questionnaires from pupils and staff. The outcomes from the analyses considered how the schools operationalised Health Education as part of the Personal, Social, Health and Economic education programme. The research also considered the consequences and learning experiences for the pupils. A link has been found between the type of school modality and the status of Health Education that exists in each school post the 1988 Education Reform Act.

The use of the ideas associated with Salutogenesis can be seen as a way towards instilling the notion that health is a valuable personal commodity that is needed throughout the life course. Schools are well placed to continue promoting positive health education and could introduce a 'Health Passport'. This would effectively encourage individuals to take responsibility for their attitude and behaviour towards their own health because it is a resource for everyday living. The correct modality conditions within a school will enable this idea to succeed.

KEY WORDS: Health Education; Health Passport; Personal, Social, Health and Economic education; organisational culture; school modality; Bernstein, Daniels, Vygotsky and Antonovsky.

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List Of Abbreviations

C	Classification
DCSF	Department of Children, Schools and Families
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DoH	Department of Health
ERA	Education Reform Act
EWB	Emotional Health and Well-being
F	Framing
HEd	Health Education
I	Instructional
NC	National Curriculum
PHE	Public Health England
PSHE	Personal, Social and Health Education
PSHEed	Personal, Social, Health and Economic education
QCA	Qualification and Curriculum Authority
R	Regulative
SEAL	Social and emotional aspects of learning
SMSC	Spiritual, moral, social and cultural
SoC	Sense of Coherence
SRE	Sex and Relationships Education
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction to the Enquiry

1.1 Introduction

This research study examines the notion of school culture and its relationship with the teaching and learning of Health Education (HEd) of 14/15 year olds (Year 10) in four English High schools in a Midlands county. It seeks to understand the cultures that exist in each school and the implications these have on the teaching and learning of HEd. The research is situated within the current English context of the Personal, Health, Social and Economic education (PSHEd) framework as described in the PSHE Association's documents and accompanying Government policies.

In this opening chapter I will examine my rationale for undertaking the research, the contextual significance of the research and offer a brief overview of the theoretical underpinnings that informed the basis of the study. I will exemplify my aims and objectives and present an overview of my methodological approach.

1.2 Rationale for Undertaking the Study

This research has developed from working in the field of Health Promotion and teaching Science and Personal, Health, Social and Economic Education (PSHEd) within the secondary state school system in England. My recent professional interest has been concerned with developing Health Education courses, within both the PSHE and Science programmes of study, as part of the National Curriculum in a 11-18 high school. I was mindful of the health content when planning the courses, so used holistic approaches to health that took into account the physical, mental, spiritual, social, sexual, emotional, societal and environmental influences.

In another role working with Health Promotion within a Health Authority, which was part of the NHS, my remit was to engage all schools to think about ways in which to enhance their existing health promoting activities or to find ways within the curriculum to initiate healthful activities. My work was framed by the definition of health as posited by the World Health Organisation (WHO): “the extent to which an individual is able, on the one hand, to realise aspirations and satisfy needs; and, on the other hand, to change or cope with the environment. Therefore, health is seen as a resource for everyday life, not an object for living; it is a positive concept emphasising social and personal resources, as well as physical capabilities” (WHO, 1986).

The interplay between the factors that comprise an organisation’s cultural environment became an important consideration when trying to engage different schools to take on board new ideas regarding health education and promotion: methods and ideas that worked in one place did not work with the same degree of success in another. Understanding the factors that existed in a particular school’s culture and structure were of great significance because the number of schools that enrolled in the local ‘Health-Promoting Schools Initiative’ measured success in the job role. The local “Health-Promoting Schools” programme was the precursor to the national “Healthy Schools” agenda that was rolled-out to all schools in England in the late 1990s. This programme was one of the first joint-initiatives that the Departments for Education and Health produced for schools (DfEE,1999; DfEE/DoH, 2005), with the following four aims to:

- support young people to develop healthy behaviours
- reduce health inequalities
- promote social inclusion
- raise achievement of young people.

My teaching knowledge enabled me to discern the nuances between the different schools, but being from an outside “agency” (Health Authority), I could only observe these anomalies. In order to make the job role work, I became very aware of the challenges and tensions and adapted my professional style to suit the school in which I was working. It is from these experiences that the direction of the study originated. The aims are to explore the role organisational culture plays in the uptake and acceptance of Health Education (as part of PSHEed programme) interventions into four schools existing curricula.

As observed by Clough and Nutbrown (2010:10) “social research is positional because it is driven by people because they identify the emerging issues and then create the methods by which situations are further understood”. They also add that research is an investigation of an idea, subject or topic for a purpose that enables the researcher to extend knowledge or explore theory. It was my intention to address the emerging issue that I had experienced and identify a methodology to understand it. Knowledge of the effect that a school’s culture has on specific areas of the National Curriculum (NC) is scant; but the hope is that the outcomes of this study will contribute to the area.

1.3 Contextual Significance of the Research

Schools in England have been involved in delivering public health programmes over many years, (e.g. inoculation programmes against tuberculosis and rubella, Shilling, 1993), partly because these interventions reached a large number of the population over successive generations. They also play a major role in HEd by acknowledging that health is part of an individual's development and knowledge is a basic human right (Tones et al, 1994).

In the early 1900s, HEd was delivered in school as part of the physical education programme (e.g. personal hygiene and grooming), and was then aligned with science lessons, particularly biology. Up until the Education Reform Act (ERA), (DfE, 1988), HEd had been taught as a cross-curricular theme, but it then became part of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and was taught as a separate subject. In 2002, PSHE became associated with the subject of Citizenship within the new National Curriculum, with PSHE being frequently timetabled against Citizenship because the latter was a statutory subject and both subjects had some overlapping content. PSHE became overshadowed both in terms of the amount of time given on the school's timetable and the lack of teacher expertise to teach the more sensitive areas of the programme within the Sex and Relationships theme.

PSHE was reviewed in 2007, resulting in a re-vamped programme of study that is now referred to as Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHEed). The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) and Ofsted (2007) hoped that the renewed programme would make a "special contribution" to personal development and contribute to young people's health and well-being. PSHEed is now composed of two programmes of study: personal well-being and economic well-being and financial capability.

At this time the government viewed PSHEed as a key driver towards the implementation of all children's well-being and the Every Child Matters agenda (DfES, 2003). Within the last eight years there have been two new government initiatives that have had an impact on the timetable space available for PSHEed. These are the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) requirements (DCSF, 2007) and the Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural (SMSC) obligations of the 2002

Education Act that are reported on in a Section 5 Ofsted inspection (DfE, 2014).

Currently, PSHE is taught either as a discrete subject or through other curriculum areas. Schools teach PSHEed even though it is a non-statutory subject and currently there is no centrally prescribed curriculum, just Guidance documents. However, as part of the Ofsted process, inspectors are required to consider aspects of PSHEed provision when forming judgements about a school. Where it is delivered well and is supported by the values of the school, PSHEed can contribute to an “Outstanding” inspection grading because it has a significant impact on the whole school community (PSHE Association, 2015). However, there is still considerable variation in standards, methods of teaching and time allocated to the lessons (Ofsted, 2013). One of the main reasons for this is that schools adopt a cross-curricular approach to teaching PSHEed since this is often seen as the only way in which the broad range of subjects contained within this area can be delivered within an increasingly overloaded curriculum.

At a national level, it appeared that there was no underlying or clearly unifying rationale for PSHEed, SEAL (Crow, 2008) or SMSC. These subjects could complement each other but, due to the lack of resources and space, a well-planned and coherent PSHEed programme has become further fragmented and in danger of becoming unfit for purpose that pupils will not recognise it as a health-related lesson. However, what could happen is that PSHEed can go some way towards embracing SEAL and SMSC, so assisting these agendas in that the espoused values become embedded within the school’s ethos and an intrinsic part of the school’s culture.

1.4 Cultural Theoretical Underpinnings

The phenomenon of school culture grows out of a complex and multi-layered series of interactions of both internal and external factors; it influences what a school does, how it does it and how it develops and affects teaching staff and pupil attitudes toward day-to-day functioning in the organisation. As Schein (1992: 311) notes, “we simply cannot understand organisational phenomena without considering culture both as a cause and as a way of explaining such phenomena”.

Many researchers have found “the concept of culture elusive but powerful in understanding the complexities of schools and schooling” (Marshall and Rossman, 1989: 47). Their research explores the interactive relationship between the school’s uptake and espousal of health education and the cultural factors that operate within the school, particularly at the level of the teaching and learning of the health curriculum.

1.4:1 Culture from a Social Anthropological Perspective

This section provides a framework for understanding social (or cultural) anthropology in its broadest sense, with reference to Hofstede and Hofstede (2004: 5/6). They state that “*culture* is a catchword for all those patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting [...] it is always a collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. Culture consists of the unwritten rules of the social game.”

The diagram that Hofstede and Hofstede (2004: 8) have developed represents aspects of culture as layers within one another like an onion. It includes the aspects that they consider express the appearance of culture and include:

- SYMBOLS: e.g. artefacts, discourse used
- HEROES: e.g. someone who has demonstrated prowess in an area of the culture that is very significant for that group of people
- RITUALS: e.g. festivals and rites of passage
- VALUES: e.g. qualities that are significant to the group and guide everyday practices.

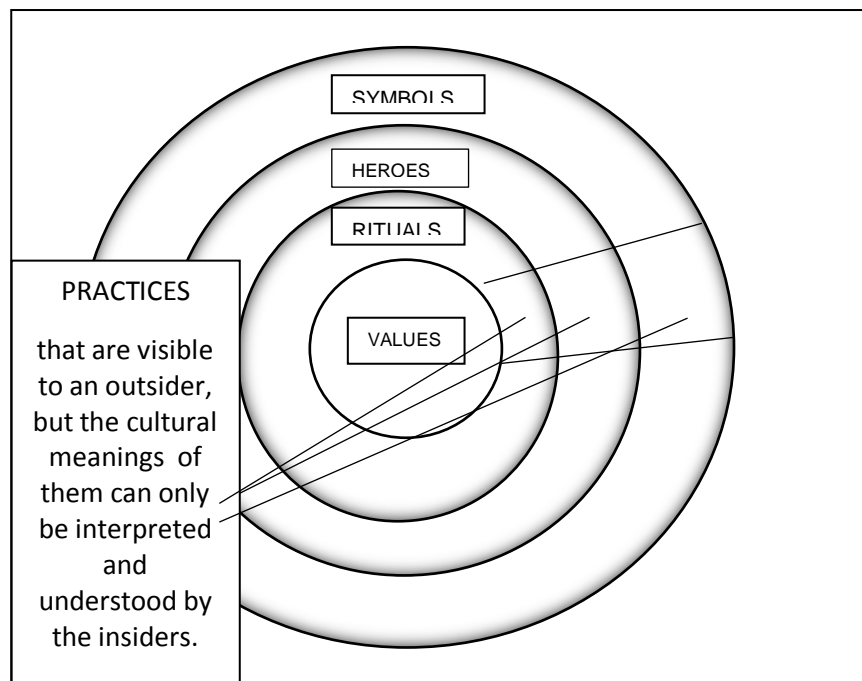
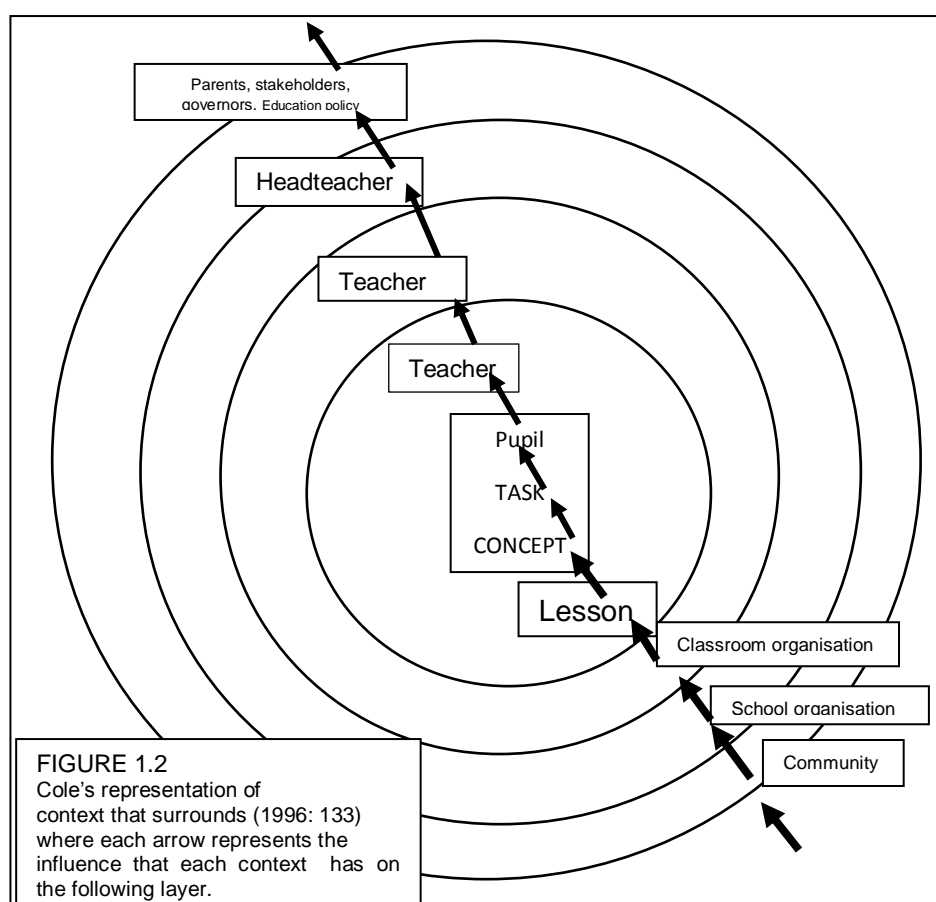


FIGURE 1.1: The 'Onion': manifestations of culture at different levels of depth
(Hofstede and Hofstede, 2004)

As schools (like any other organisation), function within the 'onion' structure, I would like to overlay Cole's (1996) diagram of "context that surrounds" as it depicts levels of context with the learner at the centre. He states that: "There is a complex temporal interdependence among levels of context which motivates the notion that levels of context constitute one another."...(I am referring here to the teacher/learner example in the diagram below)..."a teacher gives a lesson, which is shaped by the classroom it is part of, which in turn is shaped by the kind

of school it is in, which in turn is shaped by the community, and so on".
(p. 134).

At different levels of context there are changes in the power relations among the participants, with teachers often being seen as holding a more powerful position than the pupils. He argues that in order to make a meaningful study of culture, all the surrounding social practices must be included so each layer represents features that a group of people in any environment would aspire to because it is made rather than being something that is "out there". He argues that each type of context (weaving together or surrounding) can be used in any situation, but it depends on the tools that are used, the goal of the activity and any limitations that may put a constraint on achieving the goal.



By overlaying this diagram it can be seen that schools operate within an environment where their practices are affected both by the deeper

manifestations of culture and the prevailing social and political forces in which they operate. This pictorial representation has guided my approach to the study and by using a qualitative methodology, I am hoping to understand some of the levels of context by observing patterns of behaviour and listening to the comments of both pupils and teachers regarding their views on life within their school cultures.

1.4.2 Culture from a Sociocultural Perspective

The sociocultural approach to the study of cultural transmission draws on the work of Basil Bernstein (1977, 2000) with particular reference to his theories of cultural transmission (1977, 1990, 1996). To gain a fuller understanding of the culture within each school, a means of investigating the role of discourse was of paramount importance. This theory has been used in the study because it provides “a method of understanding school structure in such a way that the “culturally specific nature of schools” may be given close attention” (Daniels, 1996:76). Daniels also explains that “Bernstein’s work allows a connection to be made between the rules that children use to make sense of their pedagogic world by taking measures of the school modality [...] Relevant aspects of discursive, organisational and interactional practice can be measured” (ibid, 2001:174).

Bernstein (1996:73) explained that where a discourse is removed from its normal context and relocated elsewhere as a result of the selection and focusing of the new situation, the original “social basis of its practice” and the power relations that existed will change. The recontextualisation of the discourse used in schools, changes the power and control relations and is interpreted in different ways to deliver education to its pupil population. As Bernstein and others (Daniels 1996; Singh 2002; Bourne 2003; Ivinson 2007; Alves and Morais 2012; Donnelly 2014) have found, this gives rise to different school modalities

and different outcomes for pupils. The school modality aspects have an impact on the importance given to a subject and subsequently its position in the school's curriculum. My research tools are going to analyse each of the study school's methods of cultural transmission so that I can gain an insight into the reasons why HEd has differing levels of success.

1.4.3 Organisational Cultural Theory

In addition to the theoretical positions discussed above, I will use organisational culture theory from Handy (1995) because I consider that I can place each of the four research schools into his "Analysis of Organisational Culture". I have referred to Johnson and Schole's, (1988) Cultural Web (Appendix 1) where I have attempted to tie together MacBeath's work (1999) with theirs so as to give an understanding of school culture. I have included MacBeath's work because he has carried out a raft of research improving the effectiveness of Scottish schools by concentrating on the ethos of the organisation. He was concerned with enabling schools to evaluate themselves using a framework that had initially been developed from questionnaire responses given by different stakeholder groups, including teachers and pupils, (Appendix 2). I have adapted some of the questions on his "Ethos Indicators" list. These have created the basis for my questionnaires to pupils and teachers (Appendices 3 and 4 respectively).

1:5 Theoretical Underpinnings for the Health Aspects of the Study

1.5.1 Salutogenesis and a ‘Sense of Coherence’

Currently, the medical view of an individual's health status is that of being either in a state of health or disease. It is the dominant professional view in the West and operates within a narrow view of health, known as the ‘Medical model of health’ (Naidoo and Wills, 2000:8). The pathogenic paradigm contributes to the prevailing view of the medicalisation of health where a pathogenic entity such as heart disease, cancer, or schizophrenia is always present and has to be treated or prevented (Beattie et al, 1992). The emphasis is on illness with very little study of “the symptoms of wellness” (Brown et al, 2011). Antonovsky (1979:203) proposed a salutogenic paradigm which “suggests that the normal state of affairs of the human organism is one of entropy, of disorder, and of disruption of homeostasis [...] open[ing] up the way for a continuum conceptualisation [...] called health-ease and dis-ease”. His model therefore gauges health status somewhere between total wellness and total illness so that no one is classified as healthy or diseased.

The premise governing salutogenesis is that the focus is on successful coping and this led to Antonovsky's construct of the “sense of coherence (SoC). It emerges from the pattern of health experience during childhood, adolescence and early adulthood; and by about 30 years of age, individuals have developed a generalised way of looking at the world, and coping with the stressors of everyday life” (ibid: 205). This determines their location at some point on the health-ease/dis-ease continuum.

Antonovsky posited that if individuals have a strong SoC they are more likely to maintain their healthy position or improve it because they can

avoid threat or danger. They are interested in engaging in health-promoting activities (e.g. smoking cessation, exercise, good nutrition) because their lives are meaningful and the effort to maintain a healthy lifestyle will be of long-term benefit. He suggested that people with a weak SoC have neither the motivational nor cognitive basis for active coping strategies to avoid risky behaviours that endanger the realisation of a healthy lifestyle (e.g. pregnant women who smoke and drink).

1.6 Schools and Health

The majority of 11-16 year olds are at their healthiest during their school years. They are more likely to define health in terms of fitness, energy or physical strength (Blaxter, 1990:17). However, they are also at a stage in their lives when they have more independence from their parents/carers, spending more time with peers and friends who have similar interests. They are seen as a vulnerable group because of their experimentation with tobacco, drugs, and alcohol drinking. Also, relationships may involve sexual activity, together with the stress of impending examinations and/or lifestyle changes.

Since 2010, there has been a concerted effort by the PSHE Association to provide a “joined-up” programme of study for PSHE. Currently the guidance offers PSHEed as two broad strands: Personal Well-being and Financial Capability, with Health Education in the former strand. It is “a planned programme of learning through which children and young people acquire the knowledge, understanding and skills they need to manage their lives” (PSHE Association, 2013). The Department for Education (2014:14) endorses this by stating that PSHEed “supports and extends other subjects in the school curriculum, developing children’s resilience, confidence and ability to learn” (DfE, 2014:14).

The potential content of PSHEed is very wide-ranging because it has included parts of the pre-existing cross-curricular themes including topics such as personal health and safety, substance misuse, sex and relationship education, careers education, economic education and financial understanding and responsibility. Other areas that are included are skin cancer, “legal highs”, domestic abuse, abusive behaviour, sexting and cyberbullying, mental health and gambling.

Formby and Wolstenholme (2012: 15) carried out a mapping exercise of PSHEed and found that in some schools “pupils did not see the potential value or relevance of PSHEed to their lives”. From my observations within my teaching role, most teenagers do not see education for health as a particularly important aspect of their school learning. They are overly preoccupied with issues that have more of an immediate impact such as girl/boyfriend relationships, peer relationships, sporting prowess and whether they are good enough for the school team and succeeding in examinations and schoolwork.

1.6.1 Positioning the Research within the Current Political and Social Context

The Labour Government made an announcement in Autumn 2008 that PSHEed would become a compulsory subject in English (and Welsh) schools. However, due to the fact that more research was required into the methods and effectiveness of the subject as a result of the MacDonald Review (2009), the subject did not become a statutory part of the National Curriculum.

A General Election in 2009 effectively stopped the progress towards PSHEed statutory status because the Liberal/Conservative government that came into power withdrew the Children, Schools and Families Bill in which PSHEed was located. Although the subject did not become

compulsory, Ofsted continues to review the area in all schools during their school inspections and has reported that the quality of PSHEed in English schools was “not yet good enough” (Ofsted 2013), with 40% of the schools that were sampled providing an inadequate programme of study.

During the last fifteen years, the context has changed for PSHEed due to an explosion in the use of social media and internet access. The result is that these sources of information and images are shaping young people’s behaviours and self-image. Part of the PSHEed programme includes Sex and Relationship Education (SRE) and this aspect tends to be reported in the media so giving the impression that it forms the entirety of the PSHEed programme that is taught in schools. The extent of the content of the PSHEed programme of study can be found in www.pshe.association . Its implementation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, together with the findings of the study schools.

I highlight SRE here because there has been an increase in the downloading of age-inappropriate and pornographic images by young people. This gives them distorted views of their body image; how a healthy, loving relationship develops and how people in general treat each other (NSPCC, 2012). SRE still continues to have a high visibility because of the safe-guarding issues associated with school-age young people. Also there was a 5% increase in sexually-transmitted infection (STI) diagnoses between 2011-2012. Chlamydia has been diagnosed in 61,000 13-19 year olds and over 4,000 were diagnosed with gonorrhoea (PHE STI’s annual data tables 2009-2013 at www.chimat.org/youngpeople/AHUK#data).

In September 2014, there was a proposal that Parliament should lobby for PSHEed to become a statutory subject. This would boost the status and legitimacy of the subject in the eyes of both teachers and pupils

and schools would be obliged to provide adequate timetable space so that it has an overt presence on the curriculum. The current Conservative Government has only been in power for a few months, but to date PSHEed still remains a non-statutory subject, although part of the findings of the Chief Medical Officer, in her 2012 Annual Report (2015: 28) has commented that PSHEed “forms a bridge between education and public health by building resilience and well-being”. The current Secretary of State for Education, Nicky Morgan, has added to the debate, stating:

“A good PSHEed provides young people with both the knowledge and skills to manage their lives, stay safe, make the right decisions and thrive as individuals and members of society [...] (they) develop skills such as resilience, leadership, communication, empathy and perseverance [...] these are skills and qualities that will help to address the productivity gap” (DfE, 2015: 6).

These observations may go a considerable way to improve the subject’s longevity.

1.7 The Research Setting

This research focuses on the culture of four English state maintained secondary schools and the impact that this has on the HEd provision. It was carried out in one Midlands LEA during the Summer Term of 2008. The research schools have each been assigned a letter as a “school identifier”. Appendix 5 gives detailed descriptions of each one.

School H: Rural and successful. Always oversubscribed; Parents move to the area so that their children can attend the school.

School C: Situated on the edge of a market town. Both rural and city catchment.

School X: On outskirts of new town development. Big variation in socio-economic status of the catchment area.

School W: On the edge of the city. High levels of social problems.

1.8 The Research Questions

The thesis is entitled:

“An investigation of the different modalities of schooling and their implications for Health Education”

and from this, the research questions have been refined to find out the following:

1. How is Health Education operationalised in different modalities and why?
2. What are the consequences for the pupils?

1.9 Aims of the Study

The aims of the study are to:

1. Investigate culture and health education in four English schools
2. Understand the discourse used within each school in order to identify the power and control that exists within the organisation concerning health education
3. Determine the relationships within the school's culture
4. Identify the effects that school culture has on the pedagogy of health education.

1:9:1 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are to:

- critically review the literature on culture so as to formulate a framework for the research design
- develop the most sensitive data-collection tools to use in the research design
- carry out a pilot study to aid my contextual understanding of the school's cultures and position of health education by using a questionnaire and focus group
- identify other agencies who work with the schools who could provide information that would enrich the study
- refine the data-collection tools as a consequence of the pilot study
- identify four schools who are willing to participate in the research
- contribute to the knowledge and understanding of school culture and health education.

1.10 Methodological Approaches

This study is multi-layered and is concerned with interpreting voices, observations and meanings so it requires that different layers of the school's cultural composition is studied. Denzin and Lincoln (1985:47) illustrate these characteristics as:

- humans actively construct their own meanings of situations
- meaning arises out of social situations and are handled through interpretative processes
- behaviour, and thereby data, are socially situated, context-related,

context-dependent and context-rich

- realities are multiple, constructed and holistic
- meanings of situations are continuous and evolve over time.

From an ontological viewpoint, my research is based on the premise that social reality is locally co-constructed. From an epistemological stance, the study considers knowledge to be co-created as we are shaped by our lived experiences and these will always come out in the knowledge we generate (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011:99). These authors also suggest that researchers must have an understanding of the social context in which the data is produced to accurately reflect what the data actually mean to the study (ibid: 113). I think that having a teaching background will enable me to interpret the findings of this research to produce a deeper understanding of the research questions.

1.11 Overview of the Organisation of the Thesis

CHAPTER 1: This chapter has explored the context for conducting the research. It has briefly looked at some of the issues that frame health education and culture. It has given an account of the research questions and the aims and objectives of the study together with the theoretical underpinnings.

CHAPTER 2: Explains the theoretical frameworks that inform this study. It explains the ideas of Basil Bernstein and enables the structure of the organisation to be understood in terms of the pedagogical practices that exist in each of the four research schools. Vygotsky and Antonovsky will also be referred to as their theories will offer a deeper understanding of the HEd aspects of the study.

CHAPTER 3: Reviews and presents the health and culture literature as they pertain to English schools, with an overview of the position of health education in the national curriculum. My rationale for concentrating on literature and research studies pertaining to England only will be exemplified.

CHAPTER 4: This explains the methodology used for the pilot study and the refinements that resulted for the main study. Research design and choice of participants together with the selection of data collection methods and issues of validity, reliability and ethical considerations are considered.

CHAPTER 5: Data analysis strategies that will be employed are examined in order to understand the different school cultures and pedagogical practices. These will then be interpreted in terms of Bernstein's coding theory and offer a method of understanding each school's modality.

CHAPTER 6: Discussion of the data found for each school and the implications that they have on health education.

CHAPTER 7: Explicates the findings of the research. Offers reflexive accounts of the methods used and how the data was analysed. I propose recommendations for future practice and research opportunities.

1.12 Findings

When looking for differences between the four schools I applied aspects of Bernstein's Theory of Cultural Transmission together with the Instructional and Regulative discourse (1996) and have found that there are differences within the power and control relationships within each school. Where both features are strong, there is an overt power relationship where the teacher directs the lesson, with very little input

from the pupils. When the relationship between the power and control characteristics are weak then the lesson is more interesting for the pupils because they are able to have more control of their learning and the means by which they obtain their knowledge.

Within these areas of power and control, there are implications for the regulation of behaviour. This was also apparent in different degrees for each school and was reflected in their attitudes towards PSHEed.

CHAPTER 2: Background and Framework

2.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is concerned with the dissemination of PSHEed, in which HEd is located, with relations of power and control that exist within the prevailing organisational culture of the school. Therefore, I am interested in the notion that the cultural factors are regulators of HEd. The theoretical framework applies some concepts from the works of Basil Bernstein, Lev Vygotsky and Aaron Antonovsky. Together their theories and models have afforded the means by which I can make sense of the intertwined nature of the research issues, the current existing evidence and the complex real-life data.

This chapter will introduce my conceptual framework and then discuss Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy as the frame for the cultural aspects of the research. Vygotsky's notion of the 'zone of proximal development' will be applied to determine how a pupil learns the HEd messages in different cultural environments. It is only useful when it moves ahead of the pupil's development and the ZPD encourages this to happen. Finally, Antonovsky's concept of Salutogenesis as a way of giving the subject area a higher visibility on the curriculum within the school setting.

2.2 Conceptual Background

The two concepts of interest in this study are the school subject of Health Education and the notion of school culture that exists within the school. By using Basil Bernstein's theories of cultural transmission and pedagogic discourse, I will be able to identify the patterns of power and control that exist in each of the four schools. These will be at different strengths and their relationship will determine the type of pedagogic discourse that occurs and give the code modality that will assist in

determining the school's prevailing culture. These will have an effect on how HEd is taught in each school.

Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of what cultures were prevalent in the study schools and offers a snapshot of the situation that existed during the summer term of 2008. I used a qualitative approach as the associated methods that fall within this approach will enable me to gain a good overview of the situation within the schools, with specific reference to the people in the school, the cultures and the meaning of social phenomena as experienced within each school (Malterud, 2001).

Data were collected from multiple sources and, according to Savin-Baden et al (2013:14), are defined as 'soft data'. This is because they are rich in descriptions of people, places and conversations and are not easily handled by statistical procedures. In each school, I interviewed pupils, subject coordinators, Heads and a member of the LEA advisory team. These methods were supplemented with pupil focus groups and my observations so that I could gain a deeper understanding of the assumptions, values and norms held by each institution. Within the four research schools, 187 individuals participated.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Bernstein's Theories

Bernstein analysed the school as an institution so that he could relate the macro-institutional forms to the micro-interactional levels, together with the underlying rules of pedagogic communication (Daniels, 2006: 46). Within this relationship, there are issues of power and control and they vary depending on the boundaries that exist within the organisation. This has an impact on the types of communication that

occurs and the discourse used for specific interactions. The relegation of Health Education to occupying a small presence within the PSHEed programme of study has been partly attributed to the excessive time constraints that exist within a school's timetabling arrangements. To some extent, the fact that teachers are not confident teaching aspects of the subject has also contributed to its demise because a pupil's learning is directly influenced by the teachers' pedagogic practices.

2.3.2 The Pedagogic Device

It is in school where the power relations that exist in society are transformed and it is these resulting discourses that regulate the forms of consciousness and identities of their school population. The role of the Pedagogic Device is to constantly regulate the communication that it makes possible and act selectively on the meaning potential (Bernstein, 2000: 27). It is subject to rules that vary with the context of the pedagogic communication, whilst at the same time specialising forms of consciousness. Bernstein suggests that the rules for pedagogic discourse act as the 'social grammar' (ibid:25), so enabling the formation of pedagogic messages.

There are three interrelated rules associated with the Pedagogic Device:

- Distributive rules specialise forms of knowledge, forms of consciousness and forms of practice to social groups
- Recontextualising rules regulate the formation of specific pedagogic practice
- Evaluative rules establish any pedagogic practice (ibid:28).

When pupils attend school they become immersed in different discourses which have been developed over time from the school's

underlying ethos and values, rituals, symbols, heroes and practice. When someone new joins the school, it will take them time to understand the expectations and ways that things are done within the structure at a number of different levels because the culture has to be learned. Schools have dissimilar internal rules to fit with their contexts, so the meaning of any communication will change; this will be a feature of my research.

2.3.3 Recontextualising Rules and Pedagogic Discourse

The recontextualising rules are most pertinent to my study because one of the objectives of the research is to determine what the HEd provision is and where it is located within the school's curriculum. To do this I will investigate the pedagogic discourse because this selects and creates specialised pedagogic subjects through its contexts and contents. Pedagogic discourse embeds the instructional and the regulative discourses (Bernstein, 2000:32; Daniels, 2006:49) which create skills of one kind or another and rules regulating their relationship to each other, and rules which create social order. The Instructional discourse creates specialised skills and their relationship to each other and, the Regulative discourse maintains the moral order by creating order, relations and identity. They can be expressed as:

<u>INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE</u>	<u>ID</u>
REGULATIVE DISCOURSE	RD

where the instructional discourse is embedded in the regulative discourse (which is the dominant discourse). In any pedagogic situation, the instructional and regulative discourses work together. It is this relationship that demonstrates the differences in pedagogy between schools.

Pedagogic discourse is a recontextualising principle that selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to establish its own order. The aspects of pedagogic discourse are themselves created from external entities that recontextualise the wider society requirements for schools, and include the following:

- 1/. Official Pedagogic Discourse (OPD): The National Curriculum programme of study for PSHEd, textbooks and PSHE Association literature;
- 2/. Official Recontextualising Field: Government Policy, Education Acts, Health Acts, Ofsted documents and Teaching Unions.
- 3/. Pedagogic Discourse of Reproduction: is influenced by the teacher's practice because their role is to reproduce/recontextualise the OPD. The main function of the recontextualising field is to establish the 'what' and 'how' of pedagogic discourse. Within this they will need the specific coding orientation (Alves and Morais, 2012: 53), so that their methods of teaching are compatible with the context of the school.

There are two principles within the specific coding orientation:

*The **Recognition Rules*** that ensure a legitimate context-specific text or practice develops; together with

*The **Realisation Rules*** that produce certain ways to communicate in different contexts (Bernstein, 2000: 105).

These rules are often tacitly acquired (Daniels, 2006:48), but are necessary so that both teachers and pupils can recognise the specific subject discourses and know what is expected of them during lessons. Whitty et al (1994:33) cite a good example of this; they were carrying out research in a school where the teaching of HEd (as a 'cross-curricular theme' pre-1988) was located in Science lessons. On questioning one of the pupils about including information about teeth-brushing, the boy rejected the notion because it was a Science lesson and not a HEd lesson. The pupil did not include it because he did not

think it was a legitimate Science text. The researchers reported that, 'To him the science lesson was self-contained and self-referential. To have produced work inconsistent with the dominant subject code...would have indicated that he had failed to achieve the required scientific competence' (ibid:34).

2.3.4 Classification and Framing

My research is seeking to determine the relationship between the teaching of HEd and the school contexts of each school. Bernstein's model of cultural transmission where the relations of Classification (power) and Framing (control) shape the educational knowledge is central to this thesis. This theory provides a way of understanding the school structure in such a way that the 'culturally specific nature of schools' may be given close attention' (Daniels, 2006: 57).

Classification (C) and framing (F) offer a way to analyse different levels within a school and also areas within each level, so enabling a researcher to analyse the power and control factors that are in operation (Daniels, 2006: 48). To refine the 'level of delicacy' (ibid: 49) of the research, C and F can be separated in terms of strength as seen in Table 2.1 overleaf. Where C++ would indicate that things are kept apart by impermeable boundaries and F++ would indicate that the control in a pedagogic relationship would be very much with the teacher.

When school subjects are strongly insulated, or kept apart from each other, they retain a specific context and discourse that identifies the subject in the organisation (e.g. Physics or Chemistry) and would be represented as C++. If the subject boundary is porous, as in the case of HEd, then the coding would be written as C-, because there are many themes that are included within the subject that make it difficult to

keep a specific content. A code of F- would represent a lesson where the control of the teacher is less overt or dominant and pupils had more input into the lesson content and direction.

TABLE 2.1: Classification and Framing Strengths

POWER RELATIONS (Classification)	STRENGTH	CONTROL RELATIONS (Framing)
C++	Very strong	F++
C+	Strong	F+
C-	Weak	F-
C--	Very weak	F--

In pedagogic practice, the way in which knowledge is structured and relayed is through the control that the Framing has over:

- the selection of the communication
- its sequencing (what comes 1st, 2nd, 3rd)
- its pacing (how fast the learner acquires the message)
- the criteria
- the control over the social base which makes the transmission possible (e.g. classroom).

This is known as the discursive order and is also part of the Instructional discourse (I). Framing also regulates the rules of the social order which is the Regulative discourse (R) and relays the schools cultural values, beliefs and attitudes, conduct and behaviour, as mentioned above. Strength of framing can also vary between these, so where the regulative discourse prevails over the instructional, this would be coded as i/R; if the opposite exists then the code is I/r and where there was no difference the code is written as I/R.

These nomenclatures will be central to my data analyses, as they will enable me to identify the strengths of the power and control relations

that exist within the cultures of each of my research schools. It is from the relationship between C and F that the modality of school contexts is shaped because the data from the institutional level can be related to the processes of interaction that happen inside the school. Using I and R will allow me to gain an understanding of the pedagogy within each school.

2.3.5 A Critique of Bernstein's work

Bernstein's work has been applied to a large amount of research; and his research has covered a thirty year span. Between the time of his theory inception in the late 1960s and until his death in 2000 he was always developing his ideas. Maton and Muller (2007:124) referred to this as "mature theory" because Bernstein constantly refined his work as time went on".

As a non-sociologist, I found his writings very dense and, to my scientific mind, so verbose that it complicated an already complex raft of ideas that he was relating. Together with the fact that the theories kept evolving and the English becoming very obscure, it made the early forays into his books extremely frustrating.

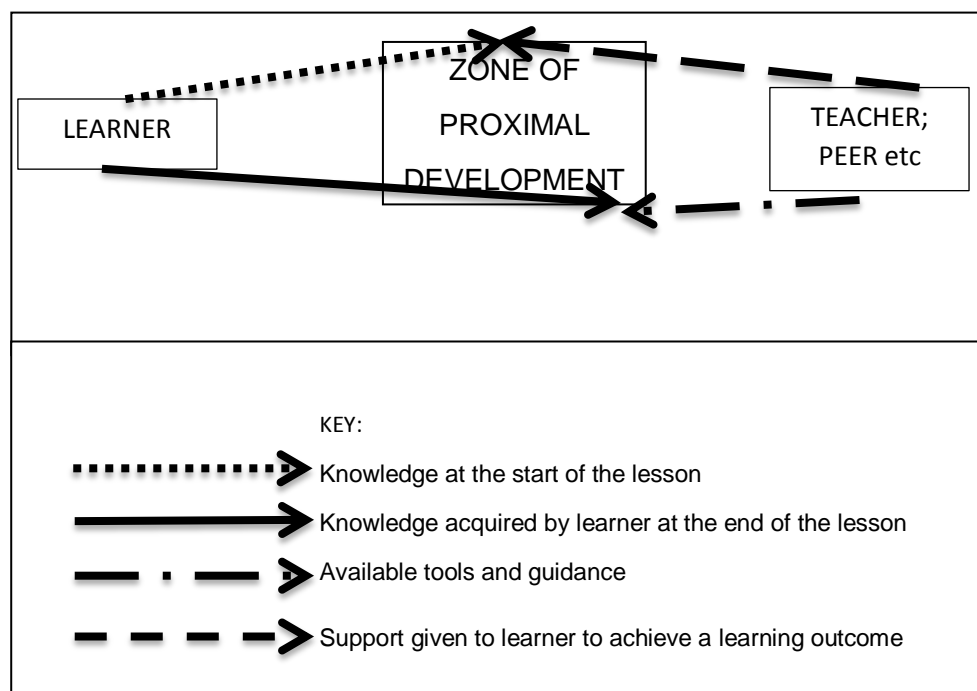
However, with time, as I became more attuned to his writing style I have found his later work far more amenable. The works of Professor Harry Daniels in particular have been very helpful in guiding my understanding of Bernstein's ideas.

Many researchers have applied his theories to such areas as understanding visual artefacts, the teaching of science, feminist research; Catholicism, health and social settings, the transmission of knowledge in many scenarios and disciplines. My research will make a small contribution to this body of knowledge.

2.4 The Zone of Proximal Development

Vygotsky (1935/1978) believed that it was through social interactions with more experienced and knowledgeable members of their society (e.g. parents, teachers, relatives or peers), that learners are able to acquire knowledge and skills. He called the guidance that a learner received by supported mediated tools, as the 'zone of proximal development' (ZPD). Instruction can only be useful to the learner when it moves ahead of their development, and the ZPD encourages this to happen. In school when learning about health this can be assisted by either the teacher, learning assistant, school nurse, outside speaker or peer. Figure 2.1 shows the learning process.

Figure 2.1: The Zone of Proximal Development



Schools should be places where young people can practice new skills and learn from their mistakes in a blame and fear-free environment. The ZPD links both the act of learning health information with the school's cultural values through the mediated interaction with individuals who have the health knowledge. By relating the ZPD to

classification and framing, I will get an indication of the level of success of the uptake of the subject matter that has been achieved in the observed HEd lessons in each school. The ZPD is affected by the power and control relations that exist in a classroom.

2.5 Salutogenesis

The core of Antonovsky's (1987) health paradigm of Salutogenesis is the focus on successful coping and effectively shifts the notion of poor health from being a negative situation to one of a degree of wellness. The model proposes that an individual has a specific outlook on life. Where they are more positive it is probable that they will manage crises effectively and life would continue as normal. He called this concept the 'Sense of Coherence' (SoC) and it is made up of three components of comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness that are explained below:

- 1/. The *comprehensibility* component refers to the fact that individuals can make sense of stimuli that they perceive and regard the future as being predictable and understandable;
- 2/. The *manageability* component refers to the extent that individuals will seek out resources to assist them so they are able to cope;
- 3/. The *meaningfulness* component contributes to an individual's understanding of the emotional side of life and that challenges are welcome and not seen as burdens.

If a person has a strong SoC then they are more able to avoid threat and danger and engage in health-promoting activities whereas, someone with a weak SoC will not be motivated and give up on making any improvements to their health status. The degree of a person's SoC will determine their approach to health and well-being, and their location on the SoC continuum of 'health-ease' to 'dis-ease' which has no definitive boundary between health and illness. Antonovsky suggests

that by the time people reach thirty years of age they will become located at some point on the SoC continuum. If the schools are promoting self-esteem and a sense of self-worth, then the foundations of an individual's SoC should be quite robust and this can be built on for a number of years.

The more familiar approach to health education has been the Medical Model; all health problems are attributable to pathogens that need medical intervention in order to get well. However, health is now seen to be more than just the absence of disease, with well-being, health literacy and life-style factors all playing a vital role and individuals being more pro-active in maintaining wellness or health-ease.

2.6 Summary of the Theoretical Assumptions

I have used Basil Bernstein's (1971/2000) theories of the Pedagogic Device (field of recontextualisation), Cultural Transmission (Classification and Framing), and Pedagogic Discourse (Regulative and Instructional discourses). These have enabled me to develop a language of description through his coding systems, which he refers to as 'translation devices' of the data into concepts. These codes give a means of connecting the micro-interactional activities within the school with the macro-power practices within which the school is surrounded (Bernstein, 1996). The codes are essentially 'regulative principles' and tacitly acquired and they 'select and integrate relevant meanings, forms of realisations and evoking contexts' (Bernstein, 1981). As Daniels (2001:174) explains: 'Bernstein's work allows a connection to be made between the rules that children use to make sense of their pedagogic world by taking measures of the school modality...Relevant aspects of discursive, organisational and interactional practice can be measured.'

Therefore, Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing enable a researcher to recognise how pupils understand their educational experience and interact with the teachers and the school through relationships of control and power respectively. Where classification and framing codes are weak, pedagogic practice is less structured and order is regulated more horizontally. Where classification and framing codes are strong, there are explicit boundaries and interactions between people and agencies will be more hierarchical or vertical.

Vygotsky's ZPD has enabled me to understand the ways in which HEd topics are taught in each research school and Antonovsky's Salutogenesis approach to health provides a way to view HEd in schools and perhaps a way forward.

Daniels (2006:43) has observed that although there has been a lot of research done on the effectiveness of schools, there is '...relatively little about the effects of different modalities of schooling.' This research will contribute to closing the gap because I have an instrument to interpret and describe the institutional level features that will identify specific modalities and the implications for HEd.

Chapter 3 will give a review of the literature about health promoting schools, health education in schools and organisational culture and its application to educational settings.

CHAPTER 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will be divided into two sections: Part A will address the health education issues and Part B will cover the school culture topics. In Part A, I will start with an overview of what has led to today's position, followed by the current situation in schools regarding PSHEd. Part B will discuss the position of culture in schools.

3.1.1 Exclusions

There is an increasing amount of research literature about how school environments modify young peoples' health behaviours and attitudes and how health contributes to increased academic achievement. After doing a broad search of the health and culture keywords, with many combinations, it became obvious that the amount of material was going to be too much. Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, USA and other parts of mainland Europe (Scandinavia in particular) have a vast output of school HEd research. However, because their education and curriculum arrangements are different from England, together with their access to Government funding and other resources, it was challenging to find any useful correlations in some articles, so these have been excluded from the literature search. I also excluded articles that were not written in English and those that carried out randomised-controlled trials (RCTs) using only quantitative approaches.

Stewart-Brown (2006) does not consider RCTs appropriate for the study of interventions that promote health in schools. Large numbers of clusters are required and the intervention needs to be implemented in a consistent way in a large number of research sites. This cannot be done in a reliable way with different school populations.

3.1.2 Inclusions

Therefore, I made the decision to limit the literature search to qualitative studies from England, which included primary research resources that were written from 1990 onwards, after the 1988 Education Reform Act. I found that many of the studies from Wales and Scotland (none found from Northern Ireland) were mostly concerned with the Health Promoting School concept and the European Network of Health Promoting Schools (ENHPS), rather than HEd per se. I refined my search with specific reference to English secondary schools and HEd/PSHEd. However, it was apparent that there were very few qualitative-only research papers, so I included any studies that had used a mixed methods approach.

3.1.3 Operational Definitions and Explanations

Before I start, I will give definitions and explanations of some key words so that the context of this research study has the same meaning for the readership. The following key words include:

Health Education: Any activity that promotes health by learning to give rise to a relatively permanent change in an individual's health skills, (Hall and Elliman, 2003:8). In the English curriculum, it is part of the Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHEd) programme.

PSHEd: This programme, Personal, Social, Health and Economic education deals with real life issues which affect all young people, their families and their wider communities. It engages with social, health and economic realities of their lives, their experiences and attitudes through a planned programme of learning experiences (PSHE Association, 2010).

Health Promotion: “The combination of planned social actions and learning experiences designed to enable people to gain control over the determinants of health and health behaviours, and the conditions that affect their health status and the health status of others. It includes the empowerment of individuals and the part that social policy has to play”. (Moon, 2002).

Culture: This is “a pattern of shared basic assumptions that a group has learned as it solves its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems”. (Schein, 1992:12) Cole (1996:8) observes that it has been known for a long time that culture is very difficult for humans to think about. Consequently, “...we fail to see culture because it is the medium within which we exist”.

Ethos: The deep underlying philosophy and values of an organisation’s culture that have been in existence since the organisation was formed. The values have a powerful effect and are difficult to change.

There has especially been confusion over the use of a number of words to explain the concept of culture. These include climate, ethos, atmosphere, character and tone. According to Prosser (1999:5), “...it is clear that terms are often used in a loose, uncritical way that lack clarity. Researchers have assumed that their choice and definition of a term is a ‘given’ and their interpretation of the chosen term has agreed terms of reference when they do not [...] Such ad hoc meanings and assumptions have undermined critical reflection and impeded school culture research”. I concur with this view and have experienced different professional groups (medical and business colleagues) giving these words slightly different interpretations. Therefore, the reason for

mentioning these five keywords is to ensure that the research is understood and transparent as possible.

3.2 Part A: Health Education

In this section of the literature review, I will start with a brief overview of reasons for the presence of health education in schools and then explain the health-promoting school initiative. This will be followed with a review of the curriculum and current situation with health education in the secondary school setting.

Health is a multifaceted concept that can mean different things to different people. The teaching of health is also complex because it has evolved from an amalgam of concepts and theories from a number of disciplines (Tilford and Delaney, 1992). The World Health Organisation (WHO, 1948) has defined health as being more than the absence of disease, but rather a state of physical, mental and social well-being. This conceptualises health as a positive state rather than a negative state of 'not being sick' (Jones, 1997), which is a useful starting point for health education in schools.

3:2.1 A History of Health Education in Schools

3.2.1.1 Victorian Times to the Late 1970s

As Jourdan et al (2008) remind us, "Health education is an essential part of the culture handed down from generation to generation in all civilisations. Traditions, myths and rites were the main vectors used to transmit such attitudes in ancient times...schools have been identified as one of the appropriate settings for Health". HEd has been part of school life since Victorian times; as early as 1875, health and hygiene matters had an impact on the quality of life in most school populations.

This was either directly via the school or through parents, particularly mothers who were seen as being responsible for these areas of the family's life and home because they were regarded as the 'gatekeepers' of the family's health (Sidell et al, 1997:160).

For the first half of the 20th century until just after World War II, HEd tended to reflect the medical view of health, where it was interpreted as being the absence of disease (Beattie, 1996). Medical advice at that time dominated the management and structure of the way school health arrangements were made in all schools. Systematic school medical inspections and facilities for feeding malnourished children, together with the requirements of the 1918 Education Act¹, put medical treatment in place to deal with certain diseases such as skin complaints and dental problems. Due to ongoing medical influence, physical drills and school meals were introduced, together with a continuing preoccupation concerning the physical environment of the school buildings. This was the first time that an emphasis was placed on the social, personal health and hygiene of the individual pupil (Armstrong, 1993:129), with teachers being encouraged to undertake health education in order to protect children's physical health. The first edition of the Health Education Journal in 1943 quoted that 'education aims are frustrated if health is absent'.

Teacher training at this time did include a basic health education course, but it was a fringe subject and not as prominent as reading, writing and arithmetic. Good nourishment, personal hygiene and fitness concerns continued very much in the medical model train of thought and this approach influenced all health matters during the 1950s. The dominant method of health education used was health propaganda and

¹Also known as The Fisher Act, it aimed to meet the growing demand for an improvement in the availability of schooling for children and the leaving age was raised from 12 to 14 years. Fisher firmly believed that education was a vital part of society.

instruction, and as Sidell et al. (1997:159) has commented, the purely instructional approaches had very little effect on people's behaviour. Health education then shifted its focus from the emphasis on physical health to a wider agenda, including life skills (Harrison, 1994:8).

The policies that were implemented by the different Government departments of education, health and welfare in the 1960s and 1970s, stressed the importance of school health education (Denman et al, 2002:54). During the 1960s, education became more child-centred and methods used in the classroom sought to develop a greater degree of autonomy and responsibility through discovery learning. As a consequence, HEd emerged as a complex theme of well-being and a state of being human (Naidoo and Wills, 1994:241), and since this time has highlighted the significance of this area. By the 1970s, health education programmes in schools concentrated on empowering individuals to adopt healthy behaviours (Balding, 1991). The expectations for an improvement in health were based on the fact that young people would use the experience of school health education beyond the classroom. This has enabled individuals to learn and follow behaviour patterns that are conducive to health rather than those which are detrimental. It was now a well-established fact that “the educational system was acting as a mediator between the public health agenda and social demands (Jourdan et al, 2008).

3.2.1.2 The 1980s to the Late 1990s

Within the Public Health arena, ‘The Black Report’ was published in 1980 (Townsend and Davidson, 1982). Its significance was that it linked many factors that had an effect on an individual's health status. The main finding was that there exists an undeniable link between poor health and poverty; the factors include individual health choices and behaviour; many social and economic issues including income,

employment, level of education, housing and the environment in which someone lives, (Ewles and Simnett, 1995). Although there was no clear 'joined-up thinking' between the Departments of Education and Health, there was an indication from the Acheson Report (1988), that education could be the vital link to combat these social health problems and improve an individual's health status. However, there was an issue that any health messages that were learnt in the classroom could be undermined and contradicted by health behaviours that happened in the home environment. I have mentioned 'The Black Report' because it was the first study to make the links between social deprivation and health and demonstrates the huge scope of health and social issues that schools were being requested to improve in partnership with other agencies.

A good starting point for the next phase of the development of health education is a quote from Weare (2000:1):

"In the UK [...] considerable progress was made in introducing health, personal and social education into the school curriculum in the 1970s, but unfortunately its presence was then reduced by the introduction in the late 1980s of the National Curriculum. Health and personal and social education were not made part of the core curriculum but was the subject of guidance documents only: as a result many schools felt under too many other pressures to give these areas the attention they often knew they deserved".

In the 1980s, the focus was on schools improving educational standards at a time of public-spending cuts. The Education Reform Act (ERA, DFE, 1988) introduced radical changes into schools that had a huge impact on the culture, teacher working practices and government intervention. It was, as Weare stated above, the beginning of the marginalisation of HEd, because the curriculum was becoming more academic and highly prescriptive. To quote Denman et al (2002:55),

“HEd was not identified as a subject worthy of its own niche, but was relegated to the position of a Cross-curricular theme. Adding to the diminishing status of the subject was the lack of intertextuality between policies. The policy for HEd was labelled as ‘guidance’ as opposed to ‘statutory orders’”. They add that the document ‘Curriculum Guidance 5: Health Education’ used less formalised language but was more discursive than the statutory subject orders, and suggested that this may have further contributed to the subject not being taken as seriously by teachers. The position of the subject had become vulnerable and has been referred to as part of the “soft underbelly of the curriculum” (Background Paper, 1984).

Since the Education Reform Act (ERA, DoE, 1988), HEd has had a fragmented and inconsistent presence within schools, and at that time was “yet to establish an appropriate relationship with the National Curriculum (Murray, 1995:29), even though, “the school curriculum should be one which:

- Is balanced and broadly based
- Promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at school and of society
- Prepares such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life” (ERA, 1988: Section 1).

However, according to Williams (1987:62), since 1981, HEd has been more clearly identified as part of the increasingly important Personal and Social education programmes in schools.

The resulting National Curriculum divided all the other subjects into either ‘Core’, ‘Foundation’ and ‘Cross-Curricular’ categories, where the Core subjects were statutory and included Mathematics, English and Science. They had to be taught by each school and occupied a large

proportion of the lesson allocation time on a school's timetable. The Foundation subjects were from a range of other subjects on the timetable, such as Geography, French and History and then there were also five cross-curricular themes, one of which was Health Education (Curriculum Guidance 5, NCC, 1990) and schools could prioritise for themselves the nature, content and organisation of this subject. This was composed of nine major components and schools could determine what they wanted to focus on:

1. Substance use and misuse
2. Sex education
3. Family life
4. Safety
5. Health-related exercise
6. Food and nutrition
7. Personal hygiene
8. Environmental aspects of health
9. Psychological aspects of health

The framework suggested that pupils should be actively involved and that a range of teaching methods could be used (Cale, 1997). Scope also existed for health topics to be taught in Science and Physical Education. However, due to the constraining influences of the National Curriculum, the subject was placed in a vulnerable position and it gradually became aligned with the Personal and Social Education (PSE) programme. Also, within this document there was reference to 'the whole school approach'. It highlighted that young people receive subtle health messages from the daily life of the school through the organisation and management structures of the school, the physical environment and the inclusion of external agencies. School HEd policies were also encouraged to demonstrate the school's intent regarding the subject.

Sir Ron Dearing's final report into the 'National Curriculum and its Assessment' (December 1993), acknowledged that education was not only concerned with preparing students with the knowledge and skills

needed to earn a living. It would also enable young people to use leisure time creatively, have respect for other people, faiths and cultures, become good citizens, think things out for themselves, pursue a healthy lifestyle, and value themselves and their achievements. Also since this date, areas of Health Education, health and safety, child protection, sex education, and personal and social development of pupils have all been included in the Framework for the Inspection of Schools by Ofsted (1995). These developments ensured that Health Education in some manifestation would remain in schools and time on the curriculum was 'freed-up' for health education; where it could 'usefully be covered during the additional time released in the slimmed-down curriculum' (Dearing Report, 1993).

The status of Health Education within the National Curriculum following the Dearing Report showed that science lessons included topics on nutrition, alcohol, smoking and drugs (taught to key stages 1 to 4), and that physical activity and healthy lifestyles were promoted during physical education lessons. Since September 1994, sex education has been mandatory in all maintained secondary schools, and included teaching about HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections. However, the 'freed-up' timetable time effectively eroded the subject's position even more, where it was seen as a 'Cinderella' of the curriculum (Background Paper, 1984).

In 1995, the Labour government launched the 'Health of the Young Nation' (HoYN, DoH, 1995), as a targeted extension of the Health of the Nation (HoN, DoH, 1992). The main aim of the 1992 strategy was to "secure a continuing improvement in the health of the population by adding 'years to life' expectancy and reducing premature death and, 'adding life to years' by increasing the quality of life and minimising illness (p.60). The HoYN was an initiative aimed at improving the health of young people from their early teens to early twenties. As mentioned

above, it was preceded by the Health of the Nation targets in 1992, where reference was made to the fact that the school was an important setting for the dissemination of public health information. It encouraged schools to, "...equip their pupils with the knowledge, skills and attitudes they will need to make well-informed, independent judgements and safeguard their long-term health" (DoH, 1992).

The thinking behind HoYN was to enable young people to make responsible informed choices about their health and lifestyles. Facts about young people's health that were quoted in this document stated that accidents were the most common cause of death among young people; regular alcohol use and smoking and under-16 pregnancies were major causes of concern. The morbidity rate is highest in the 15 – 24 year old age group so one of the main aims of HoYN was to take an holistic view of health-related behaviour and to consult young people themselves. Also at this time, research was demonstrating that health strategies operated at a number of levels: international, national and local. As the 1999 Health Act concluded, "...within these levels agencies do not operate in isolation, but interact with each other" (p.72), and hence the development of 'healthy alliances'. Schools were identified as part of the 'healthy settings' concept (together with prisons, hospitals, workplaces and cities), and were viewed as being a key area to improve health" (p.83).

Naidoo and Wills (1994:240) have made the observation that the school setting is seen as a useful vehicle for health activities because it reaches a large number of the population over a number of years. Moon (2000) adds to this by commenting that children in school are a captive audience and their health-related attitudes and behaviours are still developing. Teenagers are one of the healthiest groups in the population, but because of the 'clustering of health risk behaviours'

(Brannen et al, 1996) during this stage of their lives young people are more susceptible to learning bad health behaviours and attitudes that will have an impact in later life. It has been reported that in terms of mortality rates, injuries are the largest cause of death among 15 to 19-year-olds, accounting for 60% of deaths within this age group (Aggleton et al, 1998). In terms of morbidity and mortality, smoking habits, alcohol abuse, the use of illegal drugs, precocious and unprotected sexual activity, irregular participation in sports and exercise, and violence, aggressive and delinquent activities 'indicate that the image of 'healthy adolescence' is inaccurate. In addition, consumer-orientated and commercial and media influences on young people's lives have increased and according to Hendry et al (1995), they are all having a profound impact on the health behaviours of young people.

3.2.1.3 The 2000s to the Present Day

Over the last 15 years, agencies who have worked with schools on health-related projects have been changed, reduced or removed. Subsequent government directions and initiatives divert funding (e.g. Grants for Education Support and Training, GEST 12A/B) and expertise to the newest project. This is particularly the case for the Health Promotion Service, School Nursing Service and the LEA Advisers all of whom had specific remits for different subject areas (e.g. Science advisors; History advisors). As Evans et al (1994) observed, this had a serious impact on a 'low status subject' in the curriculum.

Within the geographical area of the research schools, the school nurses now only visit schools to do health checks on most occasions and the LEA no longer has a role in providing specialist advice to schools or in-service training for staff. The Health Promotion Department within the Health Trust no longer exists as the role of 'health education' has been cascaded down to GP's to deliver to patients direct during a

consultation. I consider this latest proposal to be unwise since GPs are already very busy and HEd will become a tick-box exercise on the part of the Surgeries in order to satisfy NHS targets. The other main concern is that individuals who already feel intimidated going to their GP are not going to make an appointment to discuss sensitive issues where confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. For example, a teenage youth finds he has a rash that could be a sexually transmitted infection and he knows that his mother's close friend is the receptionist. This is what I mean about not being able to guarantee complete confidentiality. It is especially problematic in a rural GP practice where everyone knows each other and gossip is rife.

Education as a whole is undergoing challenging times, with teachers and school leaders having to balance many different demands imposed by government, Ofsted, parents and any other interested stakeholder. For the past five years, schools have been operating in an increasingly competitive market with the expectations of higher pupil attainment, introduction of literacy and numeracy strategies throughout the four key stages, changes to the required examination system and grade expectations, a change in the compulsory school leaving age and the introduction of academies from September 2011. School leaders and teachers are now accountable for the educational outputs and achievements of their pupils, and more demands are constantly being made on the school's timetable to accommodate the needs of all pupils. Formby and Wolstenholme (2012), carried out a mapping exercise of the PSHE provision in English schools and found that there was a considerable tension in schools regarding the need to demonstrate effectiveness and pupil achievement, whilst maintaining their responsibility for pupil well-being. A number of schools have actually stated that the academic side of the school is of more importance than the pastoral/well-being side and as Gordon and Turner (2003) report,

staff have a “philosophical resistance” to acting as agents for modifying health behaviours (p.338).

In addition, a number of teachers are either not confident about teaching aspects of HEd (especially Sex and Relationships education – SRE), or do not consider that they have the credibility to teach the subject. This is because most PSHE is taught by staff who also have another subject area responsibility; they are of the opinion that pupils do not take PSHE seriously enough because they identify the teacher with another subject (Formby and Wolstenholme, 2012). Another issue is that teachers do not see it as their role to stop pupils engaging in damaging health behaviours. Gordon and Turner (2003:336) found this when they carried out research about school staff disciplining pupils who were caught smoking on the school premises. The prevailing attitude was that they did not see it as their job to tackle smokers because they saw a ‘tension’ between their teaching and learning agenda and a health agenda, and Coleman (2009:282) has actually questioned whether student well-being should be part of a teacher’s responsibility in the first place.

The main obstacle to teaching HEd in school is the fact that it is a non-statutory subject. Schools can prioritise for themselves the nature, content and organisation of their health education provision within a recommended framework (PSHE Association, 2010). The health content of most lessons includes aspects of smoking, alcohol, drugs, diet and sex education and the pursuance of a healthy lifestyle. However, it is the prevailing environment within the school that will have the most profound effect on the ways in which the subject was perceived by staff; the way it is taught; the effectiveness of the health messages and whether it is given the backing by senior managers as a whole school initiative. Some good research has been carried out by Aveyard et al (2004); West et al (2004); (Tobler et al, 2011) and Formby

and Wolstenholme (2012) on aspects of the school's structure and the effectiveness of HEd messages on influencing health behaviours. The theme that I notice is running through their research is that of a pupil's 'school connectedness' or 'attachment' and I will refer to this in the 'Culture' section of this review.

Education is seen as being in a key position to give this group of the population good information in order to make healthy choices, and the World Health Organisation (WHO, 1986) has described health as a 'resource for living' and advocates that 'health influences learning, and learning influences health'. School-based health education has an importance, but it is only one influence on the young person's life, and as Kendall (1998) mentions, this is a formative stage in their health career. It is also the first decision-making institution that they encounter beyond the family. In addition to home and family, friends will it also exert an opinion regarding health literacy and priorities (Naidoo and Wills, 1994; Brannen et al, 1996) and within this sphere, these health messages will have a significant effect on the young person. Influences on a young person's socialisation come from three main socialising agents, which are:

- Family which is the main socialising agent
- Peers – especially in the 13 – 19 age group, where peer groups can expose young people to a range of experiences, institutions and concepts that parents and relatives do not
- School – where 10+ years of schooling for a large part of the day and about forty weeks of the year, regardless of motivation or ability, young people will be influenced by teachers, subjects, peers, friends, exposure to new ideas and a new type of daily routine (Murray 1998:34).

Desousa et al (2008) carried out research to explore the association between school policies and alcohol abuse in relation to family, peers

and the school environment. They found that positive parental and peer relations acted as protective factors against alcohol use.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) has suggested that because of these many different influences, an holistic approach to health should be adopted when considering giving young people health messages. It is important that they should not only be seen in the context of the school, home life, family, but also in the community and the society in which they function as they all have a significant impact at different times of life.

Any health education programme must acknowledge the influence of the school itself so, therefore, health education in school has a chance of being effective if it:

- addresses the needs of young people
- acknowledges their knowledge and experience
- has a health-promoting ethos
- has the school community the reflects ethos in its culture
- has a collaborative approach that includes the priority it is given in school and the staff attitudes towards a subject (Hendry et al, 1995).

The first hurdle to be crossed is for the school to acknowledge that health education is just as important as the academic side of education and, is a large part of an individual's development. However, a young person will only engage in health education if it has meaning for them and is relevant to their needs. There is also an issue as to when a young person should engage with health education messages. Solantus (1987) noted that very little consideration is given to maintaining good health status which becomes more apparent as an individual progresses up the school. West et al (2004) found that this was apparent for two of the three health behaviours (smoking, alcohol and diet) that they studied. As pupils went up the school, individual

health behaviours towards smoking and alcohol dominated and negated the influence that the school had; diet was not affected (p.262/285). Therefore, the timing of interventions and knowledge is an important factor.

3.2.2: The Health Promoting School Programme

In the early 1980s, there were some health education programmes (e.g. Health Education Project (5-13) and (13-18)), that were considered to be a turning point in health education provision in schools. This was due to the fact that they were "...an important influence in putting education on the agenda in schools, and in laying the groundwork for the development of subsequent school projects" (Ewles and Simnett, 1995:68). This included a focus on well-being and the physical, social and psychological state so resulting in the holistic approach to health. With a growing recognition of the strategic and influential role that the school could play in the health of its population, moves were made to develop health education that was not purely seen from a medical point of view, but from an educational model. Williams (1987:62) explains the differences between the two models as:

1. The medical (or preventive) model is concerned with the prevention of illness and disease. It achieves this by targeting behaviours and attitudes of individuals, such as stopping smoking. In other words, changing behaviour will be good for your long-term health.
2. The educational model is aimed at developing an individual's sense of autonomy, rather than specific behaviour changes. This involves making decisions that are based on knowledge and facts. (This is the approach that I think teachers should adopt as we are trained in how to get messages across to different age groups).

The school, as a main 'influencer' on an individual's health status had broadened to include the stakeholders within the community; all those people who had a vested interest in education, its processes and its outcomes. This effectively embraced parents and governors, who between them could have a major impact on the content and dissemination methods used regarding health. The policies within the schools would set the context in which the messages about health should be interpreted, and the ethos of the school would either help or hinder the way in which these policies were implemented. Stewart-Brown et al, (2006:8) carried out a systematic review of systematic reviews of the impact of school health promotion initiatives on some aspects of health and well-being in a health promoting school setting. She found that fifteen of them focused on a specific health topic or approach that included substance use prevention, promotion of healthy eating and physical activity and mental health promotion. However, the results did find that this setting did support an improvement in health, especially in areas of mental health, healthy eating and exercise, preventing substance use, injury prevention and was most effective in reducing conflict resolution. The only health behaviour that it had no effect on was sexual health.

As mentioned in the previous sections, during the mid-80s, the school setting became a key player in providing a platform for health improvement activities. Healthy public policy and health promotion principles began to underpin further development in schools. The concept of the health-promoting school evolved, which again firmly shifted the onus of health back onto the school environment as a means of influencing its community. As Konu and Rimpela (2002:79) have observed, "health programmes in schools have moved towards wider and wider interpretations of the health concept..."

In 1993, the European Network of Health Promoting Schools (ENHPS), a collaborative research and development initiative managed by the WHO, was introduced in 40 European countries and lasted for three years as a research project. The philosophy that underpinned it came from the Ottawa Charter (WHO, 1986) which stated that “health is a resource for everyday life, not the objective of living” and “health is a ‘positive concept’, emphasising social and personal resources as well as physical capabilities”. The aim of the project was to develop the effectiveness of schools as settings for the promotion of the physical, social, spiritual, mental and emotional health of young people.

Within the UK there were 48 schools selected to participate in the project, 16 were pilot schools and 32 were reference schools. They were selected if they could demonstrate evidence of a strong commitment both to the development of health education and to the aims of the project as a whole. Within the geographical area of my research, I worked with one of the original Pilot schools of the project². The key values and principles that contribute to the health-promoting school include positive health, empowerment, democracy, equity, partnerships with communities, and the influence of the school environment. The goal of any health promotion activity was not to produce an imposed state of perfect health, but to support people to be as healthy as they wish to be (Weare, 2000:28).

Each pilot school received a pump-priming grant that was used for the development of a health-promoting and enhancing activity within the school and, have the backing and support of the senior management team and all staff. In addition, the funding was also put towards teacher training and resources. Although the health project was a success, the school found that some of the ideals espoused by the WHO did not fit

² I was a delegate at the first Conference of the ENHPS that was held in Thessaloniki, Greece in 1997. There was much talk and excitement regarding the application of the health-promoting framework to schools in an effort to provide the holistic scenario needed as a vehicle to get health concepts accepted by schools.

with prevailing education realities in the UK. It has since been reported that the ENHPS has had more success in other parts of Europe than the UK (NFER, 1997). However, the concept of the ENHPS provided the model that acted as a catalyst towards the development of a health-promoting framework that would be relevant to the context of schools in the UK.

In the White Paper 'Saving Lives: Our Healthier Nation' (DoH, 1998), three settings were identified where it was considered that health inequalities could be addressed. They included:

- Healthy Neighbourhoods
- Healthy Workplaces
- Healthy Schools.

It was envisaged that within each 'setting' the national health priorities of coronary heart disease and stroke, accidents, cancer and mental health could be tackled through a variety of interventions. The 'Healthy Schools' setting incorporated a number of these health targets and public health messages were effectively taken into schools.

3.2.2.1 The National Healthy Schools Standard

In 1999, the National Healthy Schools Standard (NHSS, DfEE, 1999) was launched as an award scheme in England, and managed and overseen centrally at Government level. It was a quality standard that underpinned not only PSHE but also the raising of achievement throughout the whole school. A 'Healthy School' pushed the boundaries of the old school order and ceded responsibility to pupils, parents/carers and the local community. It was seen as an agent for change and was concerned with more than "promoting skipping and denigrating chips" (Noble and Robson, 2005:163). In order to become a nationally

recognised Healthy School, an institution needed to be able to demonstrate that it had met four nationally agreed criteria, which were:

1. PSHE (to include SRE and drugs education)
2. Healthy Eating
3. Physical Activity
4. Emotional Health and Well-being.³

This standard was dependent on a whole school approach that not only gave pupils a voice, but also parents, teachers and the wider community. It is committed to ongoing improvement and development and promotes physical and emotional health by providing accessible and relevant information and equipping pupils with the skills and attitudes to make informed decisions about their health. The standard also stated that a healthy school understands the importance of investing in health to assist in the process of raising the levels of pupil achievement and improving standards. The NHSS was found to be an extremely effective, evidence-based school improvement mechanism that brought about cultural changes within the school. The approach was not only concerned with what was taught in school, but also every part of school life. For instance, lessons about smoking needed to be supported by the School's No Smoking Policy and staff being role models. The teaching, management organisation, school ethos and environment were all included in the whole-school approach. As was stated in the guidance document: "What happens in assembly, on the hockey pitch, on work placement, on the school bus, has as much, if not more impact on how pupils grow socially and personally, as what they learn in the classroom" (DfEE, 1999).

³ Interestingly, in my experience, Head teachers sign-up their school to participate in the Award scheme because they saw it as an opportunity to market the school without understanding the processes involved and the implications for the staff and pupils.

The NHSS underwent a refocusing in 2005 (DoH/DCSF, 2005) because there were national issues regarding the high incidence of obesity and poor sexual health amongst young people. The government stated that it was committed “to turn things round and put much more emphasis on measures to achieve a healthy population of young people” and released the National Healthy Schools Programme (ibid, 2005). The guidance document stated that a healthy school promotes the health and well-being of its pupils and staff through a well-planned, taught curriculum in a physical and emotional environment that promotes learning and healthy lifestyle choices. It also stated that from September 2005, Ofsted would expect schools to demonstrate how they contributed to NHSP, Every Child Matters (ECM) and the Children Act 2004 (DCSF, 2004). In the Education and Inspection Act (DfEE, 2006), schools had a duty to promote the well-being of pupils. This aspect was then developed into a series of indicators so that pupil well-being could be measured and reported on in the inspection process (Ofsted, 2008). These five national outcomes for young people came from the ECM documentation and included:

1. Being healthy
2. Staying safe
3. Enjoying and achieving
4. Making a positive contribution
5. Achieving economic well-being.

This was the first programme jointly funded by the Department of Health (DoH), and the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF), and both parties had an interest in using this programme as a vehicle for a number of agendas. Within schools, the NHSP framework was also geared up to support the targets within the following national priorities:

- improving behaviour and attendance
- raising pupil achievement

- Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL)⁴
- excellence and enjoyment
- improving performance in national Standard Attainment Tests
- reducing and halting the increase in childhood obesity
- promoting positive sexual health and reducing teenage pregnancy, and develop other healthy behaviours
- reducing young people's drug, alcohol and tobacco use
- helping to reduce health inequalities.

Having implemented this programme within a secondary school environment, I found that the actual health education component to be quite hidden. As new health targets arose at a national level, the focus of the programme frequently underwent updates, so that they could be included within the school's programme. A good example of this was the issue of school meals and the contents of lunch boxes. The changes at Local Authority level has effectively diminished the growth of the NHSP network because the momentum and support are no longer available to schools. Sadly, with the uncertainty still surrounding the position of the PSHE status in the curriculum, schools have more pressing issues to attend to that give its image in the local community more prestige – namely, an 'Outstanding' grading from an Ofsted inspection.

In 2011, the funding ceased for the NHSP programme and the award scheme no longer exists. This also applies to the SEAL programme. However, some Healthy School schemes are still running at a local level where Public Health departments have taken on the funding responsibilities. Recently a Healthy Schools programme has been launched in London after securing funding from the Mayor's Office.

⁴ SEAL became more aligned with Life Skills and so is seen to be separate to learning and attainment.

3.2.3 The Current Situation Regarding PSHEed

Young people are growing up in a very different environment to their parents and facing a different social milieu (Weare, 2000; Coleman, 2011). Their lives are fast paced and very pressurised; social media and other Internet sources provide them with so many choices that they are bombarded with options and decisions that they consider important to their lives. They have a deep need to fit in with peers and their behaviour and attitudes are sometimes seen by adults as very alien.

Social and psychological well-being helps to protect young people against emotional and behavioural problems, violence and crime, teenage pregnancy and the misuse of drugs and alcohol (NICE, 2009:5). The National Institute for Clinical Excellence (NICE) included the following elements as part of their view of social and emotional well-being:

- happiness, confidence and not feeling depressed
- a feeling of autonomy and control over one's life, problem-solving skills, resilience, attentiveness and a sense of involvement with others
- the ability to have good relationships with others and to avoid disruptive behaviour, delinquency, violence and bullying

NICE also suggested that schools should foster an ethos that promoted good interpersonal relationships at all levels of the school and create a culture of inclusiveness (ibid:9).

Ofsted issued a report in 2007 that highlighted the fact that when PSHE was taught by specialist staff, it was more effective. In 2012, according to Ofsted, PSHE teaching was good or better in 60% of schools and inadequate in 40% of schools in England. These are astounding figures but perhaps not surprising because there is now very little training for

staff due to the demise of the Local Authorities and the costs involved for external course providers. Sir Alasdair MacDonald carried out an independent review of PSHE for the New Labour government in 2009. His recommendation was that at secondary level, the non-statutory programmes of study should be carried forward as compulsory. He made it clear that schools should involve pupils, parents and opinions of stakeholders and the wider public to develop policies because there was “overwhelming support” for PSHE at both primary and secondary school levels (DCSF, 2009). Due to the subsequent change in Government, these recommendations were removed from the new legislation of 2010 (Children, Schools and Families Bill, DCSF, 2010).

However, schools have been recommended by both Ofsted and the DfE (2012) to continue to offer PSHEed as the guidance schemes of work that are currently used offer a ‘broad and balanced’ approach when teaching the issues contained within the programme of study. The current course content contains two strands, Emotional well-being and Financial capability. The HEd themes are subsumed within the Emotional well-being modules. The course content can be found at www.pshe-association.org.uk/sites/default.

PSHE goes beyond formal teaching as it is an attempt to shape young people’s attitudes, values and experiences both at school and in their lives outside school (Brown et al, 2011:118). They make an extremely pertinent observation that the acronym ‘PSHE’ may be one of the issues that is causing it not to be given the status that would establish it in the curriculum. To compound the problem, in 2011 PSHE became Personal, Social, Health and Economic education (PSHEed). According to the PSHE Association it increased the subject’s scope by effectively making its boundaries so blurred (or weak in Bernstein’s terms), that it has become more aligned with Citizenship. However, the central core of PSHEed is that it is values-based and is one of the only curricular areas

where pupils can air their views in an open, honest and 'safe' environment. Brown et al (2011:119) are some of the only researchers that openly state that "the ethos of a school might provide an initial indicator as to whether or not PSHE would flourish and be effective" and add that the "relationship between school ethos and PSHE is mutually supportive".

There is a plethora of recent research that highlights the need for the school environment to be seriously considered when implementing health programmes (Markham et al, (2012), Willis et al (2013), Gresler and Kearns,(2002) and Markham (2014/15)). They all make a compelling argument, to which I totally agree, but what their research does not do is identify the micro-level activities within the pedagogic relationship that contribute to the degree of success of PSHEed in schools. Markham et al (2014) have used Bernstein's theory of Cultural Transmission, but has studied a specific health behaviour.

In 2013, the Health and Social Care Information Centre (HSCIC) conducted their annual 'Survey of Smoking, Drinking and Drug use among Young People' and found that "drinking, smoking and drug taking have all reduced in the last decade for pupils within secondary education since 2003... [but that] referral rates to psychological therapies were two times as high for 15 to 19-year-old females than males". It is good news that drinking, smoking and drug use rates have decreased but not encouraging that rates of poor mental health have risen. Unfortunately, these behaviours are still contributory risk-factors for coronary heart disease and stroke, accidents, cancers, mental illness, unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. Within the English Midlands county area in which the research schools are located, there is currently in excess of 98,000 school-age children, all of whom will benefit from good health education if it continues to remain on the curriculum.

It was noted by the Chief Medical Officer (CMO) in her Annual Report of 2012 that PSHEed is seen as a bridge between education and public health and made a recommendation that an “adolescent health and well-being framework” should be developed. This would include the interrelationships of exploratory behaviours (Recommendation 16). If this is developed and managed at a local level by the ‘Health and Well-being Boards’ (HM Government, 2011), then the issues for young people could stay visible on the Health and Education agendas. The Health and Well-being Boards have been developed to link professional expertise within education, local government and the primary and secondary health professions.

As I have mentioned earlier in the text, there is substantial evidence that effective PSHEed contributes to better academic outcomes. This has been recognised in the workplace because in the CBI/Pearson Skills Survey (2015), the most important factors employers look for when recruiting school leavers are attitudes (85%) and aptitudes (58%). They consider that these skills rank well above formal qualifications, a point recognised by the CMO, who agrees that there is a growing business case for improving lives and life skills of young people because this potentially has the most benefit for UK’s national economy.

Currently, PSHEed is still a non-statutory subject, but there are calls to make it statutory. As recently as June 2015, the PSHE Association was lobbying the Government to revisit the proposals regarding statutory status. It has the support of a number of professions who consider that PSHEed should be firmly placed in the curriculum. Below is part of the Government’s response to the House of Commons Education Select Committee regarding the report ‘Life Lessons: PSHE and SRE in schools’ from the Secretary of State for Education in July:

“It is vital that the education system prepares all pupils for life in modern Britain. Schools have a critical role to play in helping to shape rounded, resilient young people that can face the challenges of the modern world with confidence. They must provide opportunities and encourage their pupils to develop a wider set of skills, which far from being a distraction from academic achievement are vital for pupils’ academic success. These same skills will prepare them to go on to contribute positively to the economy and to society as fully engaged citizens.

“PSHE is a curriculum for modern life. A good PSHE education provides young people with both the knowledge and skills to manage their lives, stay safe, make the right decisions and thrive as individuals and members of society. It provides young people with opportunities to develop skills and qualities such as resilience, leadership, communication, empathy and perseverance. We know that these are the skills and qualities that business leaders are crying out for and help to address the productivity gap. We also know that these skills are not innate and that they can and should be developed.

“High quality PSHE and age-appropriate SRE teaching are also essential to keeping pupils safe and healthy, inside and outside the school gates. Young people today face unprecedented pressures posed by modern technology. Good quality PSHE can provide them with the information they need to stay safe and build resilience against the risks of exploitation or radicalisation. At its heart, good PSHE supports young people to make informed choices. The majority of schools and teachers recognise the importance of good PSHE education and know that healthy, resilient, confident pupils are better-placed to achieve academically and be stretched further. However, as the committee’s inquiry found, PSHE is not yet good enough in many

schools. We want all schools to put high-quality PSHE at the heart of their curriculum” (DfE: 2015).

This is very laudable, but until the decision by Government is overturned regarding PSHEed’s status, it will only be put at the ‘heart’ of the curriculum in the schools who are currently demonstrating good practice now. Schools want to be seen as caring organisations, but dare not spend too much time off-task (i.e. National Curriculum core subjects and other ‘value-added’ activities). Many schools have always considered that health information should be available to their pupils.

Consequently, with the current highly visible culture of achievement and academic targets that are imposed on schools, the only successful outcome that is understood by the stakeholders is a high level of examination achievement. Young people understand this and only equate examination success with the reason, process and outcome of schooling. Therefore, any subject that does not have examination status has little value and legitimacy in the eyes of the very people that the health education programmes have been designed to educate. The subject has no tangible outcome that is considered relevant to a 14/15 year old in today’s society.

Health education programmes that are carried out as a ‘bolt on’ activity, are fraught with challenges:

- Essentially they have less dedicated timetable space
- the methods used within the designated subject area are less than enterprising
- initial teacher training lacks sufficient time devoted to health education training. Now that 80% of new trainees time is spent in the classroom, it has become even more difficult to prioritise health education above subject expertise (Williams et al, 1990).

- resources are useful and helpful, but cost money and become quickly outdated;
- the teachers that do not feel comfortable teaching health education topics but do not want to go against the 'caring' culture that may be espoused by the school;
- outside speakers are a welcome compromise (in some schools) because they can address the more sensitive and knowledge-based issues that the teachers do not want to deliver. However, some have difficulty relinquishing the control of the subject matter to an unknown outsider.

'Drop down' days are becoming a method that some schools have resorted to in order to fulfil their duty of providing a 'broad and balanced' curriculum. This is where the timetable is collapsed for the day so that the whole school can participate in an activity of some sort. Outside agencies are invited to participate and provide a programme of activities for a time slot in the day's events (e.g. GUM clinic nurse, Heart health organisations, Accident prevention, police, drug and alcohol agencies and many more). When external professionals deliver HEd the outcome will have a better rate of success if the pupils have prior experience in other subject areas. They will be able to transfer those skills to the acquisition of effective health knowledge. Hubley (1993) has proposed that school-based programmes should not only involve the external health professional, but also teachers, young people, parents and the wider community. The PSHE Association is very much against the use of 'drop down' days because it is an inconsistent method of teaching health and well-being topics. HEd commitments need to be organised in a coherent way so that this ensures continuity and progression. It is essential that the subject does not become 'reactive' in that it merely responds to public and media concerns.

It has become paramount for schools to promote themselves in a positive way since successive Education Acts introduced the notion of “competitive tendering” for their students. To this end, schools are now in the business of presenting themselves as holistic and caring institutions. Not only are they interested in the academic potential and achievements of the pupils, but also the talents and skills that comprise the whole individual. Stakeholders have the power through choice, so it is in a school’s best interest to promote an all-embracing approach, which has become much more important following the Academies Act (DfE, 2010).

The most obvious way to promote the best image is through the School Prospectus. It is here that the school’s aims, objectives and intentions are made public. As part of this, health education is mentioned in order to promote a sense of caring as part of the school’s culture. Stakeholders like to see this as it indicates to them that the school has values that they remember (and can identify with) from their own school days. It is becoming a lottery, and today’s schools have to be seen to comply.

3.2.4 The Presence of the Hidden Curriculum

Health education is not just something that takes place in a specific lesson in the curriculum. Many aspects of the school can be health enhancing and/or health denying. The ‘hidden curriculum’ within a school exists in parallel to the main curriculum. Health educationalists have acknowledged the importance of the ‘hidden curriculum’ in complementing or alternatively contradicting the schools teaching activities (Kendall, 1998, p.5). The ‘hidden curriculum’ can be most powerful in the following areas of a school:

- the physical environment
- the nature of the relationships between those in the school

- the effectiveness of the discipline/reward and support systems
- the general ethos of the school as this has a direct influence on the overt culture.

Health education programmes cannot be developed in isolation; they must acknowledge the influence of the school itself if it is going to have any significance and meaning to the school's population, because schools promote health through its ethos (Noble, 1996).

3.2.5 The Effect of Ethos and Culture on Health Education

The importance of the school as part of an integrated community-wide programme of health improvement for its members must be recognised by the school. Therefore, as part of this community, the value and belief systems of the young people, in the context of the sub-cultures in which they live must be taken into consideration (Hendry et al., 1995). With the knowledge levels of these young people, meaningful health education programmes could be initiated. As Bruce (1987) surmised, it is important to start with what an individual can do, rather than what they cannot do. This reflects Vygotsky's (1978) thoughts, in which young people operate best when they are able to interact with people in a familiar environment, and in co-operation with their peers.

The ethos of the school and attitudes of the staff have a considerable power on the way in which health messages are delivered. If health education is a 'bolt-on' activity, then the school is conveying the notion that the subject area is not valued. Successful health education programmes that have longevity are achieved when the issues are directly related to the core values of the school and staff. It has a better chance of remaining on the timetable if it is embedded in the values and beliefs that are well established within the school and its community.

Respecting self and others; gaining knowledge and personal safety are all issues that have become part of a school's ethos and mission statements. They are reflected in the school's culture by the way in which things are done, and also by what is not done within the establishment (after Peters and Waterman, 1982). The health education programme that is co-ordinated throughout the school by a senior member of staff will have a better chance of fulfilling the school's expectations. Short-term health outcomes can be facilitated by the school, but only if the environment is supportive and doubly so if the ethos is in sympathy with the initial aims of the proposals.

Staff seniority is a positive requirement for health education to be accepted and given serious consideration by all other staff. If the member of staff who has responsibility for the subject area is also a member of the senior management team (SMT), then they can present a good case both to colleagues and the governing body.

Many young people live with conflicting health messages. They are given positive health information at school that is reinforced by the school's ethos (e.g. Policies for healthy tuck shops and the serving of healthy choices in the school cafeteria). However, the peer-group messages may be stronger and contrary to the school's espoused ethos (Michell, 1997).

Young people give the impression that they know nothing about health. However, in reality, research has shown that within their social groups, they are in possession of a lot of knowledge. This is gained from a number of sources, including school, home, friends and the media (Hamblett, 1994). The role of the school appears to be to dispel the myths and give genuine factual information.

School-based health education is most likely to be effective where:

- It starts from where young people are in terms of knowledge and experience
- It is supported by the school management
- It is supported by health-enhancing activity in the wider community in which their health choices are made
- It is delivered by committed and informed teachers who have the inclination and resources that reflect that the subject has a serious position on the timetable (Naidoo & Wills, 1994, p.246).
- The teachers make sense of their worlds and the pupils by providing meaningful classroom interactions (Duffield, 1998).

3.2.6 Conclusion

Nutbeam et al (1987) and Resnick (1993) have shown that school health programmes do have a positive effect on young peoples' health status. Health education has not been forced underground, but as a valid subject it has become chameleon-like. It has become aligned with such areas as pastoral care; Biology lessons and Personal and Social Education (with the emphasis towards the social aspects). This approach has effectively diluted the subject content as it has become permeated into other areas.

The cross-curricular theme has lost its unique identity, and with it the importance that it has in the lives of young people. They are so embedded in a 'results-driven' education culture, that a subject with no academic currency is greeted with derision. Schools have been put into the position where the importance and value of health education have been reduced to little more than tokenism.

Health education within the secondary school curriculum still finds itself in a marginalised position. The subject should be an active and integral part of the environment of the whole school. The current situation is that it has a fragile identity and is losing its tenuous foothold on the curriculum.

The whole-school approach, has been advocated many times, where each department within a school works together to reinforce the effectiveness of any health messages. However, as Watkins (1999) has observed, secondary schools are like Victorian factories. Each department works independently, but contributes to the final product. Lortie (1975) compares the organisational structure of a school to that of an 'egg-crate'. Both of these descriptions demonstrate that any attempt to adopt a whole-school health education policy is fraught with strategic difficulties. For any success to come from this, there is a need for like-minded senior staff and Heads of Departments.

It again comes back to the fact that health education has a marginalised position in the curriculum. With the best will in the world, this will not take priority in a results-driven, 'Ofsted-mediated' environment that exists in education today, together with the fact that the content of many health education programmes is too fragmented. There is insufficient time for the knowledge to be assimilated and embedded in all the facets of the life and sub-cultures that comprise today's young person and their lifestyles. Information and experience can only be utilised to best effect if there is a period of reflection and Kolb and Fry (1975) view this as a critical component of the learning process.

Adolescent years are difficult for many individuals. It is the period of formative education, the socialisation process and adjustment to physiological changes. Although adolescence is the healthier part of the human lifespan, it is at this time that the behaviour patterns that

recur through life are embedded. These are carried into adulthood, with possible accompanying health risks. The demands on education are around socialising young people more efficiently into the norms and mores of adult society (Hendry et al, 1995) to encourage them to adopt healthy practices. An additional difficulty for some young people who come from a deprived background and area, are the existence of a number of negative socio-economic factors. These include:

- High unemployment
- Poor housing
- Low income.

When these factors are a part of life, maintaining a healthy lifestyle is not a priority. Their environment is out of their control, and present insurmountable barriers to good health. Ewles and Simnett (1995) acknowledge that people who are struggling to survive in a low-income environment are less likely to make changes to their lifestyles. Schools should be an environment where unbiased health information is given, and received. Young people have the right to be able to use that knowledge as they wish.

The policy impositions and changes that have occurred over the last 25 years have been both beneficial and challenging for health education. Now that the link between health and academic attainment has been made, more emphasis must be given to the fact that all lifestyle and health education are as necessary as examination skills.

The health promoting school idea, I feel has not been successful in England because schools have very little opportunity to change whole school practice. In today's environment of accountability, a Head has got to think long and hard about the implementation of any initiative if it deflects from budgetary priorities and young people's educational outcomes. Keeping health on the agenda is becoming increasingly

difficult unless another way is found that can run in parallel with the existing models.

I am proposing that the Salutogenesis approach to health education should be taken up by schools, or more accurately should facilitate pupils to take on the concept, because it is to do with the individual and connects them directly with their environment. The concern in Salutogenesis is how people survive in a hostile world; how they survive in a world that is so full of hazards, risks and stresses yet still maintain a good level of physical and mental health to function in this environment.

Unlike the current approach where young people are given knowledge about different aspects of healthy lifestyle, this approach would start where the pupils are at, where, given the right set of tools they could choose whether they want to be healthier and how they could go about it. The problem with conventional HEd is that individuals can be given the health messages, but they do not necessarily promote a change in behaviour. As Graham (1984) has observed, people make 'healthy compromises' because their social context and economic status may not be conducive to healthy lifestyles. More use needs to be made of impartial outside agencies so that young people can still receive the information, but crucially, can ask questions of someone who has the correct level of expertise. Young people would not feel so embarrassed about divulging information to a 'safe' third party individual, and teachers would be relieved of an equally embarrassing task of having to answer questions, especially SRE related.

I am of the opinion that the 'whole school approach' to health promotion is not particularly successful in this setting. It is a tick box exercise and only scratches the veneer of the school's culture. An outside agency is never going to penetrate the really meaningful layers of the school's

culture because they are not embedded within it to really understand how the school functions.

3.3 Part B: Culture

3.3.1 Introduction

It was Rutter et al's (1979) seminal piece of research that prompted researchers to investigate whether a link might exist between a school effect and health behaviours. This research is referred to as a 'first generation' study because they pioneered the study of the independent effects that schools had on certain aspects of pupil school life. They found that there were strong links between pupil involvement and teacher praise and certain 'school effects', which they put down to the 'ethos'. They defined this as "a set of values, attitudes and behaviours which [were] characteristic of the school as a whole".

Organisational culture is a very broad concept that embraces sub-cultures at all levels. As a result, it is almost impossible to define. Handy (1993: 191) has determined from numerous studies that culture is perceived or felt, which makes any kind of research difficult. In addition, as observed by Sellman (2002), the actual terms themselves (school culture and ethos) are a shortcoming in view of theoretical evidence. It is a complex concept that embraces a number of additional areas. These are associated with:

- People's behaviour and attitudes
- Attitudes towards different subject areas
- Interaction with other aspects of school's as organisations (e.g. prevailing politics and resulting micropolitics; attitudes towards the implementation of change – either imposed or voluntary)

- The fact that Academy schools are like business units, they need to have an over-arching culture to embrace all the school's diverse needs and activities.

Culture has been a part of the educational literature for many decades and it is an accepted fact that it is very influential. The problem is that the word 'culture' has been used in several senses and as Schein (1985:5) acknowledges "...we have a completely different idea of what [culture] is". It would appear that the anthropological definition has taken precedence, with culture being described as: "knowledge, beliefs, values, customs, morals, rituals symbols and language of a group: some way of life" Nias, 1989).

The complexity of the concept of culture as applied to business organisations has been simplified by Smircich (1983), who posed the question: "Is culture something an organisation is, or something that an organisation has?" (p.347). She speculated that if culture is something that an organisation is then it is a product where the meanings are negotiated and shared as a result of social and personal interactions. It is created, and re-created by people in a continuous process, with little external control imposed by senior managers. I could see this model applying to Steiner schools.

If, on the other hand, culture is something that an organisation has then it could be treated in the same way as a normal variable and will have an impact on structures and processes. Therefore, it can be manipulated or changed in some way because management is seen to own it and alter it to improve organisational effectiveness. Personally, in the current educational climate, I think the state maintained schools fall into this category.

Cole (1996:134) has developed the notion that culture either surrounds an organisation, where teacher-pupil interactions are “caused by higher levels of context”, or “weaves together” the different interactions that occur in the school context to make a stronger outcome. Therefore, within the education literature, culture has taken on different definitions that fall into two broad categories:

1. Culture as a product of social interaction
2. Culture as a variable within a social setting.

Smircich (1983) and Cole (1996) have been cited to emphasise the daunting prospect that researching the subject has produced. The central issue of this thesis is not culture per se, but the influence that it has on one area of the secondary school curriculum – namely the content and delivery of health education.

3.3.2 Cultural Web Model

In order to understand the intricacies that the study of school culture presents, I have used the Cultural Web model developed by Johnson and Scholes (1988) to simplify the different areas that exist within the study of organisational culture. Their model demonstrates, that regardless of organisational size, a number of fundamental factors exist in all social groupings and describes it as: “...the network of internal structures and processes...and external environment. It acts as a link between the two...therefore, the component parts of the cultural web...will be different [and] unique for each organisation” (see Appendix 1).

The current theories and definitions of culture include all the aspects that are part of the Cultural Web model. The researcher will draw on this model because it is applicable to the research and can be adapted to schools as organisations. Culture is assimilated through a number of routes – one of which is language. Schools are seen as enculturating

institutions where the young acquire the ability to mediate their interactions with the world through codified and reified speech structures (Cole 1996:114). The language codes transmit the norms and values of the prevailing culture and are defined by the people within that culture. Joseph (2000) has found that discourse contains language that is special to each individual culture. Therefore, language perpetuates the culture and this incorporates the particular set of signs, symbols and behaviour that are taken for granted.

Stoll and Fink (1996: 81) posit the idea that schools should be regarded in terms of cultures rather than just one culture, whilst Van Maanen et al (1984) suggest that cultures vary and to compare them means looking at the basis of the different 'meaning systems'. Codes and assumptions that give rise to behavioural and cognitive diversity will vary, and these can be compared. School culture is one of the most complex and important concepts in education (Stoll, 1998). It is difficult to analyse and accurately describe because, according to Stoll and Fink (1996:81) "it is largely implicit and we only see surface aspects".

Schein (1992: xi) also acknowledges that the concept is hard to define, analyse, measure and manage. He has detected various interpretations of culture:

- The observed behavioural regularities – including language and rituals
- Norms that evolve in working groups
- Dominant values espoused by the organisation
- Philosophy that guides all organisational policies
- Rules of the game for getting along in the organisation
- The feeling or climate conveyed in an organisation.

He believes culture to be: “the deeper level of basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organisation that operate unconsciously, and that define in a basic ‘taken-for-granted’ fashion an organisations view of itself and its environment” (ibid.:6). Culture describes how things are and acts as a screen or lens through which the world is viewed [...]; it defines reality for those within a social organisation. (Hargreaves, 1995) and “forms a framework for occupational learning” (Hargreaves, 1994:165). Deal and Kennedy (1982) posit the universally known definition of culture as “the way we do thing around here”.

Every school has a distinct set of cultures that makes it unique. Ramsey et al (1990:168) suggest that school culture consists of “...stories [that] relate to positive episodes about the philosophy, values and past successes of the school community”. These cultures are extremely subtle and yet are powerful in the way that they permeate the life of the school (Stoll and Fink, 1996:99). Culture is expressed in the ways the professional relationships develop in the school between all members. To be a full member of the organisation, an individual must know certain things about the culture (Goodenough, 1970).

Therefore, culture is not only concerned with the appropriate behaviour that members share, but also with the acceptance of the underlying value and belief system; the rituals and routines; the myths and heroes. As Little (1982:388) has observed “...the school as a workplace proves extraordinarily powerful”. Researchers have identified a number of culture types, and although all schools will have a core vestige of each type, the structural elements including the relationships; opportunities; rites and rituals; history and traditions; student population; organisational strengths and weaknesses are different for all schools. Beare et al (1989) refer to culture being ‘situationally unique’ and

Schein (1992) suggests that it is the 'patterning' or 'integration' of these structural elements that form the essence of a school's resulting culture.

According to Hargreaves (1995), the importance of school culture has been neglected and is poorly understood. However, more attention is now being given to the issue because it has become an implicit and integral part of a school's accountability. A school's ethos is now reported on as part of the Ofsted inspection framework.

3.3.3 Ethos

For the purposes of this thesis, the concepts of ethos and culture will be dealt with separately. In order to have an understanding of culture, it is necessary to get to grips with the notion of ethos, or as it is sometimes also called, school climate. Jones (1995:97) has described school ethos as the explanation, and culture as the description that exists at the macro-level; but, according to Hargreaves (1995:25) the concept of ethos is used as a "nebulous reference to the general atmosphere and tone of a school". Ethos, as defined by Ofsted, is a composite of judgements on the quality of moral and cultural education, pupil behaviour and punctuality and the overall levels of attendance (Morris, 1998: 86), indicating that ethos can exist at whole-school level. It can also exist at classroom level and be manifested in class routines, displays, teacher/pupil rapport and classroom atmosphere.

In the majority of the educational literature, ethos is referred to as a set of values that the school stands for and is developed over a long period of time. It publicly determines the ways in which things are done in the school. This includes the types of procedures and systems; rules and regulations; sanctions and rewards and the type of environment that is projected to the external viewer (Dalin and Rolff , 1993).

It has long been known that a school's ethos is built on its history and traditions and it is these fundamental values that underlie the culture. They are developed over a long period, and once established are difficult to change. They encourage all members of the school to think and act in an acceptable manner: in that sense ethos is very powerful. It is this that drives the prevailing culture that establishes a context for the work and relationships to function within the school organisation and wider community.

Ethos also has a significant influence on the teaching and learning methods; strategies and opportunities within schools. MacBeath (1999) has concluded from his research that in order to improve school culture, the ethos requires alteration, to which I agree. Much of the current research after Rutter et al (1979) emphasises the importance that ethos has in terms of school improvement issues. They argued that a school's ethos is an important causal element in its effectiveness. Ethos was defined as an amalgam of values, attitudes and behaviour in the sense of what actually happens within the institution (Morris, 1998:89).

The relationship between school improvement and school ethos has arisen because it has been found that effective schools have a strong, distinctive ethos that gives clear messages to both teachers and pupils. As a consequence of this ethos has now become an inseparable part of the school improvement literature and the school effectiveness research. This association between ethos and school effectiveness has been further cemented in the public's mind by the fact that when a school undergoes the inspection process by an Ofsted team, a statement commenting on the ethos of the school is included in the report.

It is through the ethos that new ideas and change within the organisation can occur. Within the scope of this research, it would appear that ethos and culture are the opposite sides of the same coin. One cannot exist without the other! This is not an ideal situation because ethos has an intrinsic role in all aspects of a school's life – not only in determining whether it is a good or bad school.

3.3.4 Organisational Culture

Organisational culture had been relatively unknown until the 1960s; between then and the 1990s, it was seen as an holistic entity and research was shaped by the trends in educational theory and practice, a profusion of meanings of the word school culture, trends in research methodology and political trends and their influence on educational policy (Prosser, 1999:2). Although it is a simple term, it is used to describe and explain a very complex concept, which has resulted in the development of a number of models. These can assist in the interpretation of the effects that one variable will have on another and enable patterns within the organisation to be analysed, as in Johnson's Cultural web.

Much of the research that informed the UK studies came from the USA; and the school effectiveness movement became prominent because it was deemed that schools had an influence on society. One of the biggest problems with research within this area was that the term school culture had become synonymous with school climate, ethos, character, atmosphere and tone. Consequently, because these labels had been used interchangeably for a long time research within the area produced many misunderstandings. School improvement studies came to prominence in the 1980s. It was based on the influences that school culture had in facilitating changes and provision of better educational outcomes. Another reason that caused a hindrance to research was

that it is assumed everyone knows what culture is; that it is something distinctive that one feels when they enter an organisation but it is never articulated. As recently as the mid-1990s there was still no agreed meaning or application the school culture. However, it was seen as a useful concept to understand life in schools. Prosser (1999:8) identified four overarching categories of culture from the literature, which are the

- wider culture,
- unique culture,
- generic culture and
- perceived culture.

A school's generic culture is subject to constant change by government policy; this has been noticeable with the introduction of the National Curriculum, the Ofsted framework, target setting, league tables, safeguarding legislation and continued requirements for accountability. The effect that this has had on the 'generic culture' is to change the 'unique culture' because each school is embedded within the 'wider' cultural panorama. Schools are under more pressure at the current time to raise levels of attainment, deal with poor behaviour, and expose pupils to the arts, music and improving their health and well-being.

With the creation of Academies (DfE 2010), schools are becoming strategic business units in their own right so more issues will seriously impact on the 'generic culture' of the school. With this comes marketing, management and leadership skills that will become more focused on the needs of the 'wider culture'. Therefore, it is unsurprising that schools are having to evolve beyond management via the Local Authority and now need to draw on management theory, particularly organisational culture, to be successful in a very competitive marketplace.

Organisational culture, according to Schein (2004:2), “begin(s) with leaders who impose their own values and assumptions on a group. If that group is successful and the assumptions come to be taken for granted, we then have a culture that will define the later generations of members what kinds of leadership are acceptable. Therefore, culture and leadership [...] are two sides of the same coin; neither can really be understood by itself” (p.10). Schein goes on to say that the “most intriguing aspects of the culture concept is that it points us to phenomena that are below the surface; that are powerful in their impact but invisible and to a considerable degree unconscious [...] Culture is to a group what personality or character is to an individual (p.8) [...] It is also pervasive; it influences all aspects of how an organisation deals with its primary task, its various environments and its internal operations” (p.14).

Despite the fact that the idea of school culture as an holistic entity has become less fashionable in recent literature, I am still persuaded by this view. The holistic, over-arching embrace of a school's espoused culture is the view that normally prevails on a daily basis. However, I also think sub-cultures exist within the holistic culture and vary with time and prevailing issues. I cannot visualise a school being an amalgam of a number of sub-cultures (e.g. teacher, pupil, subject departments), although I do accept that sub-cultures exist. If they become too powerful then there could be issues around implementing any whole school approaches, such as the health-promoting schools programme.

In formal settings, such as school cultures, the Head's personal vision, goals and values will drive the culture and all staff will comply to operate within this framework. In an ideal situation everyone is in accord and the school should achieve success through collaborative partnerships that are shared and recognise as a vital contribution to the schools aims and approach.

A school's culture has a 'taken-for-granted' quality, because the beliefs are repeatedly validated which then become the unquestioned assumptions. The culture is concerned with the cognitive, interpersonal and deeply embedded values and beliefs that its members share. When they persist and are responded to in a similar way, a defined unity exists that results in a strong culture. The implications for this, together with leadership issues will be discussed later.

The early studies of culture were associated with the corporate world and were deemed an important factor when measuring the success or failure of an enterprise. All the areas that contributed to making an organisation function effectively were taken into account (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Schein, 1985; Weick, 1976; Nias et al, 1989; Handy and Aitken 1986), but success was invariably measured in terms of the financial profits or losses. A number of these factors have been adopted by education researchers and interpreted as 'school effectiveness'.

School culture is established through the artefacts, symbols and rituals that capture the essence of the school. As such, it is not static, and due to the changes that occur in society, has to be adapted in order to have a function. Participants create their culture (Stoll and Fink, 1996:83), so need to be able to reflect the intrinsic beliefs of the community to which it relates.

The expectations of what education should offer have become deeply embedded in society. The exact 'flavour' of the knowledge that each school offers has become a distinct part of the institution's history, for example, Catholic schools.

Cultures can be seen as 'reality-defining' (Hargreaves 1995) by solving past problems. However, as everyday reality is taken for granted, it provides members with 'inherited recipes' (Berger and Luckman 1966)

for making sense of the world in which they live. They stated that through culture, people define reality and so make sense of themselves, their actions and their environment.

Rutter et al (1979:184) observed that any relatively self-contained organisation tends to develop its own culture or pattern. Each of the four schools used for this research had its own culture that embodied the strongly held beliefs about the social and moral purposes of education. Schools cannot escape traditional culture, but they can embrace different types to suit their particular circumstances.

Hargreaves (1995:30) observed that all school cultures retain some elements of the formal, traditional model. This has played a significant role in shaping the occupational culture in which teacher's work. Teachers share an occupational culture due to the knowledge and experiences that their job role has given them. Regardless of subject specialism, they share a core vocabulary which comes from the tasks and processes that are unique to teaching professionals.

Culture and the underlying structures are subject to constant pressure to change, by both external and internal factors. External factors affect structural rather than cultural aspects of an organisation because it can influence and change individual's work practices. Problems arise when there is insufficient vision on the part of the leader to enable the school to move forward or to adapt the prevailing culture to embrace the changes in both internal and external environments.

Hargreaves (1995:41) suggests that school culture "may be a cause, an object or an effect of school improvement", because schools find themselves operating in social, economic, technological and political contexts. He also posits the notion that these will alter the structures

within schools, such as the patterns of members social relationships, and in due course have an effect in the school's culture.

The cultural values that were originally instilled by the founding bodies who were involved in establishing the school are shaped over a long period. At the beginning of the school's history they are a very explicit set of symbols and rituals that are articulated in many ways on numerous occasions, e.g. school prize-giving, speech day; Founders' Day. All the members of the community are aware of the significant values and beliefs and adhere to them with little deviation. These are the 'cultural pegs' that are the common bond that binds all members together. Daniels et al (1996) use the term socio-institutional structures for what I have referred to as cultural pegs. Over time these become valuable because they do not change (e.g. Public schools). However, some cultural roots are equally valued because of their ability to evolve with the times (e.g. multi-culturalism).

The combination of the following basic 'cultural pegs' is a good starting point:

- The founder's original vision
- The religious context
- Rewards and sanctions
- Artefacts and symbols
- The unwritten rules or ethos

These 'pegs' must be overtly established and have the facility to be passed on from one generation to another. The more transparent they are, the better chance they have of being recognised and replicated. It is these cultural roots that offer the reality in which the staff and pupils work. The current workforce within the school will reproduce the culture and evolve it due to the ways in which they conform or adjust the rules and regulations.

The culture determines what is transmitted through the pedagogic channels and the wider stakeholding community. It is the 'way things are done around here' (Deal and Kennedy, 1982). The cultural roots include a reflection of the current societal requirements in which the school has to function. It will also have the memories of previous events intact as these are part of the school's unique character and purpose.

Therefore, there has to be a culture 'fit' between these beliefs and other artefacts and the members of the community or organisation. Some individuals will fit into a particular culture more easily than others. However, although all members need to be of the same mind regarding views and opinions, a maverick is necessary to deter complacency.

As the school's social and professional relationships develop and mature, the most important aspects of the culture becomes embedded, thus defining reality for that community. These are implicit to the members of the organisation and although the cultural roots remain unchanged (e.g. school's vision and mission; rituals and routines; stories and myths and symbols), the power relations; organisational structures and control systems will adapt and evolve to suit the needs of the school.

It is seen as a positive development for a culture to undergo a bit of 'shape-changing', because it is only affected indirectly (Stoll and Fink, 1996:84). The underlying values and beliefs will remain unchanged and retain the original flavour or ethos.

3.3.5 The Concept of School Culture

Listed below are the most relevant definitions for school culture, but Angelides and Ainscow (2000: 147) have found that the word 'culture' has acquired a number of quite different and often contradictory meanings. They observe that culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language, and that it has been estimated that anthropologists have advanced more than a hundred definitions of the word. Nias et al (1989) agree with this and suggest the anthropological definition is used in several 'senses' in educational literature. Through culture, people define reality and so make sense of themselves, their actions and their environment.

- The grudging beliefs and expectations evident in the way a school operates, particularly in reference to how people relate (or fail to relate) to each other. In simple terms, culture is “ the way we do things and relate to each other around here” (Fullan and Hargreaves, 1992).
- School culture is difficult to define, but it is best thought of as the procedures, values and expectations that guide people's behaviour within an organisation (Hargreaves and Hopkins, 1991).
- School culture is an unseen and unobservable force behind school activities, a unifying theme that provides meaning, direction and mobilisation for school members. It has both concrete representation in the form of artefacts and behavioural norms and sustained implicit jargon, metaphors and rites (Prosser, 1999).
- Culture is an expression that tries to capture the informal, implicit – often unconscious – side of business or any human organisation...it is the way we do things around here. It consists of patterns of thought, behaviour and artefacts that symbolise and give meaning to the workplace. Meaning derives from the elements of culture: shared values and beliefs; heroes and heroines, ritual and ceremony; stories and an informal network of cultural players (Deal, 1985: 605).

Stoll (1998) refers to these actions as 'norms', and suggests that a culture is composed of unspoken rules for what is regarded as customary or acceptable behaviour and action within a school. Consequently, there is an unwritten caveat that society will continue to expect certain outcomes from individual schools. The contribution of a consistent message using something that is deeply embedded, (that I have referred to as the 'cultural pegs') and exist within the organisation can assist this outcome. Prosser (1999:5) has identified and articulated the problems associated with the use of the terminology that is applied to the study of school culture. He has also observed that the basis on which many previous studies were carried out have a flawed methodology because the baseline definitions on which everything was based were not properly explained at the outset.

The terms do not have the same underlying meaning to people from different professional disciplines. This has led to the misunderstandings and misconceptions that proliferate in the studies where school ethos and culture have been considered as a central theme.

3.3.6 History of School Culture

Until the late 1960s and early 1970s, many researchers (Coleman et al, 1966; Plowden, 1967; Bernstein, 1970; Averch, 1971) worked on the premise that schools had little effect on the educational attainment of students. It was the socio-economic group from which a person came that determined their educational success or failure. Schools at that time were not studied as a whole organisation.

In 1979, Rutter et al carried out research that identified the necessity to consider the school as an organisation, existing of many different functions in addition to education. In order to fully understand the way in which a school operated, its function had to be appreciated in its

entirety. The research that they undertook endeavoured to link the concept of school culture to school effectiveness. They did this by considering, for the first time, the ethos of the organisation (Hargreaves, 1995:24). This development opened up the route to early explanations of school effectiveness.

Many research studies into school effectiveness had consistent results and gives rise to the 'five factor model school effectiveness': the five factors are as follows:

- stronger educational leadership
- high expectations of pupils
- an emphasis on basic skills
- a safe and orderly climate
- frequent monitoring of pupil attainment.

These findings prompted MacBeath (1999) to identify 12 components of an effective school, which included the physical environment, pupil morale and quality of teacher-pupil relations. These became the basis of his ethos indicators (Appendix 2).

Unravelling the two concepts of ethos and culture is not an easy task. In many areas of educational literature the words have become synonymous. It is at this point in the educational theory that the trend to link school ethos and culture became firmly enmeshed with school effectiveness research. As a legacy of this union, the language has become jumbled and misunderstood. It is relatively recently that there has been a move away from relating school ethos to school effectiveness, Stoll and Fink, 1996; (see also Beare et al, 1989; Fullan, 1992; Hargreaves,1995; Hargreaves,1994).

The notion of culture has been used generally in the context of school effectiveness and improvement. Saphier and King (1985: 67) believe

that school culture either energises or undermines school improvement efforts. They envisage school culture as being the foundation for school improvement.

Effective schools need to create and maintain an effective culture, and the central importance of culture was reflected in the 'Ten Good Schools' Report of the HMI in 1977. It was argued that: "the schools see themselves as places designed for learning: they take the trouble to make their philosophies explicit for themselves and to explain them to parents and pupils; the foundation of their work and corporate life is an acceptance of shared values" (Harris et al, 1996:36).

Peters and Austin (1985), Deal (1985) and others stress the importance of understanding the school's symbols, culture and structures as a prerequisite to making a more effective school.

3.3.7 Cultures in Operation in Schools

Hargreaves (1995:31) notes that beneath the formal organisation and its official positions there is an informal network of individuals and groups who plot, plan and act together to advance their interests. Depending on the ambitions of these groups, determines the different cultural values that could prevail. Members of an organisation are rarely fixed in their positions, and according to Ganderton (1991:32), an individual's 'micropolitical alignment' is dictated by current circumstances.

Subcultures cluster around different functions, roles, skills or levels. These are useful in that they create a sense of identity, but can be counter-productive if they limit co-operation, exacerbate conflict or reinforce entrenched views and positions.

The types of culture that have been identified as operating within schools are numerous. Each will have its own fundamental values, expectations and unique methods of transmission, and these shape the way in which people within that organisation approach their work and react to situations. Hargreaves (1995) observes that cultures within real schools “move around”, and that within different departments, different cultures can exist (Stoll and Fink, 1996: 87).

School culture embeds the norms that the community (associated with the school) should adhere to (Sarason, 1996). Therefore, issues that have an influence on a school’s culture include:

1. Micropolitics: where “formal powers, rules, regulations, traditions and rituals [are] capable of being subverted by individuals, groups or affiliations in schools (Prosser, 1999:4) [see also Hoyle (1982); Ball (1987) and Blase (1991)].
2. School Context:
 - Organisational structures may need to be reconsidered
 - Parental involvement – therefore implications concerning social capital
 - Traditions of the school
 - Social mix and degree of engagement of the pupils
 - Opportunities for teaching and learning
3. Stage of school maturation: - including history
 - Age of school has an effect on the speed at which the school can adapt to change
 - Symbols and ethos
 - Collegiality of professional relationships
 - Level of structural stability within organisation (Schein, 1992:10)
4. External political and economic forces:
 - Changes in national and/or local educational policy
 - Challenges to the school’s culture from the external social changes

- School improvement and effectiveness initiatives (MacBeath and Mortimore, 2001)
- The demands of the Ofsted Inspection process. Hargreaves et al (1996) have noted that school cultures are not immune to changes in the external environment. The traditional culture persists as a legacy, shaping values and defining reality for many teachers, which can be summarised as:
 - The style of management and leadership
 - The pupil and parent community
 - The teachers

MacBeath and Mortimore (2001) have demonstrated that the inter-relationship of teachers, pupils and parents is the key factor to making a school 'work' within a broader cultural context.

Some cultures have been written about at length:

- Teacher culture and the way behaviour impacts on the school
Lortie (1985), Toffler (1990), Hargreaves (1994), Nias and
- Pupil culture
Rudduck (1991), Thrupp (1997), MacAnGhaill (1999).
- Leadership culture
Deal and Kennedy (1982), Coleman (1984), Schein (1985),
Handy (1985), Hargreaves (1991), Bush (1992), Duignan (1992), Harris et al (1996), MacBeath (1998), Law and Glover (2000).
- Organisational culture with concepts applied to schools:
O'Neill (1994), Handy and Aitken (1986), Schein (1996).

3.3.8 School Culture and Leadership

Duignan (1992:75) is quite specific about the role of a leader in an organisation, stating that it is 'inextricably intertwined and [is] a part of the cultural dynamic of an organisation', and that the role is 'an important aspect of cultural activity' (Prosser, 1999:11).

Leadership has a major influence on the school's culture and the way in which teachers and pupils carry out their day-to-day tasks. Goleman (1996) notes that leaders operate at the node of three kinds of networks – namely, expertise, communication and trust. Leaders can only effectively fulfil their role when the trust network has been developed.

MacBeath (1998) states that leaders lead from the front, whereas Hopkins (1992:7) maintains that leadership is most concerned with steering/driving from the back. MacBeath (1999:32) found that the effect of the leader was implicit in many areas of the school. This is because leadership involves working with and through people.

According to Fidler et al, (1997) leaders need to understand the culture of their organisation before they can adequately manage both the organisation and the culture. They have to make moral and value choices about the process of managing, the process of education and the product as a result of the process. Nias et al (1989) concluded from their research that the maintenance of the culture was a significant leadership role.

Leadership is about changing the organisation by building collaborative cultures, as these are considered most appropriate for schools. Educational leaders express and embody the symbolic and cultural dimensions of the values shared by others both inside and external to the school (Jenkins, 1997). Collegial and democratic models reject the concept of hierarchy and are widely used in schools. Decisions are usually based on professional discretion rather than rules and

regulations. Bush (1992:6) has noted that schools do recognise the skills and knowledge of the professionals and advocate the participation of staff in decision-making.

Moos and Dempster (1998) considered that the fundamental influence of the cultural context has a clear and direct impact on how leadership is conceived and how people feel it should be carried out. Leadership knowledge comes with cultural experience, and English secondary schools reflect the structure of the wider society, in that they are strongly hierarchical. They have found that in the larger schools it is not uncommon to find seven or eight status tiers or hierarchies:

Head; Deputy Head; Assistant Head; Senior teacher; Head of Department; Deputy Head of Department; Mainscale teacher with co-ordinating role; Teachers who have only their classroom management and teaching role; Teaching assistants.

A strong culture is maintained, developed and promoted through leadership which acts as a unifying focus (O'Neill, 1984:117), creating coherence and cohesiveness throughout the school (Daniels et al, 1999). Culture shapes the institutional and community context within which the school is situated by defining predominant value orientations and norms of behaviour (Hallinger and Heck, 1999:184).

To that end, and for any sort of direction to be given to an organisation, the school requires widely dispersed leadership in an effort to empower the staff to work effectively (Coleman, 1984), so ensuring collegiality and a motivated workforce. Mullins (1999) states that leadership is not only an essential part of the process of management, it is also an integral part of the social structure and culture of the organisation. Therefore, a leader needs a style which helps to foster a supportive organisational culture. When the leadership is not driven by the cultural context, it is possibly due to a mismatch between the leader and

organisational values and beliefs; micropolitics will become rife. Hoyle (1982:79) states that schools are prone to micropolitics for two reasons:

1. Schools have loosely-coupled characteristics, so the thrust of action is 'lost' in the system
2. There are competing forms of legitimacy in decision-making (as seen in the hierarchical structure of schools).

Bush (1992:8) says of Weick's 'loosely-coupled system' that "coupled events are responsive but that each event retains its own identity. Therefore, departments may respond to other units within the organisation, but still retain their separation from such groups".

However, maintaining a whole-school culture that functions effectively is difficult because the organisation of schools into departments and faculties predisposes challenges to collaborative working in the long-term. The social organisation of the work environment is not conducive to the success of cross-curricular initiatives (Smylie (1988); Little (1990); Hargreaves (1991).

The leadership role has now been seen to be central to the development of educational improvement and effectiveness (Law and Glover, 2000; MacBeath, 1998; Stoll and Fink, 1996). Leaders have to mediate on behalf of school and there is now a moral dimension, which is due to the nature of the products of the educational system (Coleman, 1984). Organisational cultures are created, sustained and changed by leaders (Schein, 1985:2; Harris et al, 1996). Saphier and King (1985:72) posit the notion that leaders are culture builders, whose role is to keep the values and beliefs and cultural norms ever-present in the minds of members.

3.3.9 The Culture Effect on School Operation

Not so much has been written about the 'perceptions of schooling' culture. As Bentley (1998: 87) has observed, individuals understand culture in different ways and identify with it depending on their degree of self-awareness in relation to cultural norms and beliefs.

There are 2 main categories within this, and I will refer to them as 'near ones' and 'distant ones':

1/. **The Near Ones**: which include parents. Stoll (1998) and Metz (1991) have both highlighted that parents have an effect on culture. Sarason (1996:14) agrees that parents (together with teachers) are very effective 'carriers of culture'. They bring their own memories and the values and beliefs from their own schooldays. The same can be said of any agency that has a close working relationship with the school (e.g. School nurse, careers service, school governor). Each party will bring a set of subconscious memories that will influence their dealings with the school. Ramsey and Clark (1990:170) have observed that schools need 'cultural gatekeepers'. These are people who have affiliations with the school and want to see its good name upheld.

2/. **The Distant Ones**: which includes the agencies who's decisions have an effect on the culture of the school, but who do not actually know the everyday workings of the school on a personal level. Decisions from LEA departments; the Diocese and a variety of Government departments will have an impact on the way in which a school's culture can develop. The more prescriptive and mandatory these decisions are, then the more the school will:

- a/. rely on its fundamental values and beliefs in order to maintain its uniqueness
- b/. increasingly rely on the individual staff and pupil bodies to continue the significant rituals that are meaningful to the school

- c/. repel any other initiative (or similar) that will threaten and/or weaken the unique internal resources. There will be more dependence on the 'near ones' for support and positive affirmation when this situation occurs.

Therefore, it could follow that when a school finds itself in a situation of high tension that has been applied by an external source (e.g. Ofsted placing a school in Special Measures), it will exhibit more overt signs of its culture. It may take the forms of extra local publicity; a glossy school prospectus or more home-school links such as a newsletter or daily parental comments in the homework diary. These actions will endeavour to maintain the status quo within the school and provide the staff and pupils with the support and a sense of community and security. Simultaneously, it will give the message to the 'near ones' that the school is managing all the threats and opportunities in a positive way, and that there is no cause for alarm as business is carrying on as usual. The overt message relayed to all interested parties is that the fundamental beliefs and values, upon which the school's reputation is based, remain intact, unharmed and uncompromised.

Parents will be content, and confidence in the school's leadership and management practices will remain at a satisfactory level. In this scenario, their children will continue to receive a level of education to which they can relate, and they will continue to support the school. The school's culture will sustain and maintain the fundamental values and beliefs on which it was founded, although Stoll and Fink (1996:99) have observed "...culture is not fixed and it is intertwined with amendable structures".

Therefore, if the imposed Government document/initiative is to be assimilated into the existing cultural framework – some things may need to be altered. Culture change is a long-term challenge, and if handled

incorrectly, can do much harm to individual status and group identity within the organisation. Society, as an aggregate of the school community, 'near' and 'distant' others pose a threat to the school as an institution. When a change occurs it is vital that a school can respond quickly. Change cannot be ignored or avoided because the market-forces that operate can influence the fundamental cultural values so much that they bear no resemblance to the original. The leadership and management practices within the school will determine how much of an effect these external threats will cause. As Handy (1993) extols, in this type of external environment, there is a need for communication channels at the fundamental levels to be maintained at all times to enable survival and future development. This again is a part of the school's culture. If the organisational structure is one where there is an open culture with minimal hierarchical structures and simply understood rules and regulations, then communication will be faster and accessible at all levels at all times. Parents will be welcome and made to feel a valued part of the organisation in more ways than just the fact that their child attends. They will be accepted for what they bring as individuals.

However, if communication of any sort has never been easy in a school, then it is possible that problems will manifest themselves at all levels, with staff working at cross-purposes, and departments following their own 'rules and regulations', therefore becoming 'balkanised' (Hargreaves, 1994). The leadership and management team are frequently more remote and inaccessible. The head teacher invariably has a PA, whose role is to screen calls and appointments and generally act as an effective barrier and gatekeeper.

Leaders of this type of culture rely on rituals and symbols within the school's cultural framework to reinforce the hierarchy. Teachers feel unsupported and isolated, unable to rely on other colleagues because trust is a rare commodity. Parents are kept at a distance, except if

there has been an accident or a breach of discipline involving their child, so their experiences with the school are invariably negative.

Therefore, because of the lack of consistency within the school, pupils will receive mixed messages regarding the values and expectations. As a consequence, they may become disillusioned with their educational experiences, and form subcultures as a way to survive this compulsory activity.

3.3.10 The Curriculum, Pedagogy and School Culture

According to Naidoo and Wills (2000: 283), there is a link between education and health and the ability to learn. Experiences in school, influence the progress of a young person's personal and social development, academic achievement and self-esteem, self-perception and health behaviours. With the implementation of the ERA 1988, the Government effectively decided which subjects should be compulsorily taught in schools. The national cultural setting for education had a big change imposed on it and this had a direct effect on the schools. Prior to this a school could essentially decide which subjects they would offer to their pupils. To date, schools have been operating in an Ofsted-mediated culture. They are being held accountable for the changes imposed by the Government, and are being expected to make them work. The curriculum alone cannot achieve the expectations of the ERA. There needs to be more substantial support from extra-curricular activities, the whole ethos and functioning of the school and, most importantly, by an interaction and partnership with home and community (Moon, 1999).

In August 2002, the Citizenship programme became a statutory addition to the National Curriculum raft of subjects. As Lawton (1980) has noted, the curriculum is probably a selection from the global culture,

and so to that extent is socially determined. In other words, when public discourse changes the value-system that has become an embedded part of a school's practice, needs to be adjusted within the school to embrace the new and current thinking.

With this has come a shift in society culture. More emphasis is now given to apportioning blame to schools for the ills of society and making them more accountable for the educational expectations of pupils. Consequently, in order for schools to fulfil all these extra functions, the culture has had to adapt to embrace these changes. So much now relies on the successful teaching and leadership within schools, that the fundamental objective of giving a structured, uncomplicated knowledge base to pupils is being lost. In addition, resourcefulness and spontaneity in the teaching role is also being eroded to the detriment for all concerned. As Prosser (1999: 10) has commented "...schools are not companies producing an objective product". The business of schools is education. They need to be able to offer the best service they can within their organisational structure and prevailing culture. This also includes the interpretation of subject matter at the teacher level.

Whilst operating within the constraints of state education within a particular school, the pupils and teachers will have an interpretation and understanding of the knowledge and health messages within that specific context. Each school has its own set of contexts that are used on a daily basis. Although the same national framework is prescribed for the curriculum content, it will be delivered in a way that reflects the socio-cultural position of that particular school. These cultural pegs not only need to be in place on which to hang the values and beliefs, but also to ground the organisation in reality so that it can optimise its function to operate more effectively. It is at this level within the

organisation that the individuality of a teacher's approach should be in empathy with the ethos of the school.

If not, then the sub-cultures begin to dominate and undermine the cultural values and attempt to fragment the formal power relations which will affect the ethos of the school. Pupil sub-cultures can be quelled through sanctions, but when teacher sub-cultures try to dominate, the school culture begins to weaken. This is most apparent when departments have a stable and long-serving staff and/or deliver a high status subject (e.g. Maths, English or Science). These effectively become 'balkanised' (Hargreaves, 1994) and can exert significant power in terms of any cross-curricular work, such as health education. It becomes difficult to introduce a subject in its own right and organisationally impossible to maintain in terms of timetable allocation over a long period.

If the original cultural roots remain intact, the ethos of the organisation may still undergo subtle changes as a means of survival against future threats. Sometimes the shift over-compensates for the recent problem and it may initiate a bigger than expected ripple effect. This could result in the original cultural norms becoming insignificant in the eyes of the group members, with tokenism and symbolism replacing the once revered values and beliefs. This would result in a micropolitical system and the emergence of distinctive sub-cultures within the one organisation. Due to the neglect of the original cultural pegs, members will now operate within their own definitions of what they perceive as being the correct cultural norms.

Subcultures exist as a natural state of affairs in large high schools. This is due to the size of the departments and the specialised subject knowledge of the staff within those departments e.g. science departments, where they are neither isolated nor work as a whole-

school (Hargreaves, 1994). According to Stoll and Fink (1996: 87) this state of affairs can “create the potential to pull a school in several directions” and “emulate norms foreign to other subcultures” (ibid: 98). Ranson (1994) concurs with this view, suggesting that such individuals are often energetic, innovative and creative, but they can become destructive when their activities undermine the core values of the organisation. However, Schein (1992: xii) has suggested that subcultures form as a consequence of the breakdown in intercultural communication. He sees this as being more than ‘communication failure’ or ‘lack of teamwork’.

It is in a school’s interest to decide which norms will be beneficial to the culture, in respect to the existing cultural norms. If they reinforce these, then they could be encouraged to flourish. The prevailing culture cannot exist solely at the whim of a single individual or group. It develops through the inter-play between the power relations of these players and the spans of control that are given to individuals throughout the organisation. Cloran (1999) observes that within Bernstein’s cultural transmission framework, classification is itself the manifestation of power relations; and framing is an indication of the degree of control.

It is a healthy situation to have a variety of subcultures. Ganderton (1991) views them very positively, and suggests that the individuals who belong to an alternative culture within the organisation should be considered as creative, energetic and imaginative, and be retained. Beare et al (1989) note that subcultures or ‘counter cultures’ will increase with size and complexity of the organisation. These subcultures have different roles and fulfil a function, similar to the team-working roles of Belbin (1981, 1993). He identified nine ‘team roles’, each of which relates to certain psychological and social characteristics of individual team members. In order for a team to ‘gel’ and function effectively, teams need to comprise of people who have complementary

skills and abilities. The differences and mavericks are an intrinsic part of the 'holistic' atmosphere that exists in any school culture. A school culture realistically has to exist of more than one culture because no two individuals within the community are identical. The success of the preferred culture to dominate over the numerous subcultures will be due to the skill and experience of the leader, and the ways in which the school's expectations are communicated to all members of the community. When managed correctly, they could all make a positive contribution to the school and enhance, reinforce and consolidate the existing ethos.

3.3.11 Pupils

Pupils interpret the prevailing culture(s). They are reflected in the teaching practices and mannerisms of the staff. They can either accept it or block it because, according to Rudduck (1991: 57) "pupils can be 'guardians' of the existing culture, and as such represent a powerful conservative force". Schools have an effect on pupil cultures. Schools construct their identities through an active process of negotiation, rejection, acceptance and ambivalence (MacAnGhaill, 1999). As formal institutions, schools can convey the meanings of power, status and hierarchy.

Personal and social development also occurs through the informal curriculum (e.g. voluntary service; chess club; karate club). Munn and Drever (1999) have identified that the hidden (informal) curriculum has a powerful influence on pupils' socialisation. This is because the intended and unintended messages are transmitted about the school's culture. Pupils reflect their parent's perceptions of school (see Near ones) and this will influence the 'culture fit'. Hargreaves et al (1996:10) have acknowledged that when pupils reach adolescence (secondary education level) they have a very significant effect on the school culture.

They are establishing “who they are, their place among their peers and where they fit in the larger society”.

Stoll and Fink (1996: 89) also refer to the aspects of a young person's life that will come into play and influence the subculture structure. They include:

- Physical, emotional, social and intellectual changes
- The need to belong to a peer group
- Conflicts, inconsistencies and alienations as they face new possible identities and values
- A need for independence
- A concern with a need to cope with complexities of the wider world surrounding them
- Gender, ethnic and social class influence
- Adult's reactions to them

These ‘reference group’ processes (Thrupp, 1997) are part of a pupil's rite of passage through the school. However, they are also influenced by their social background – specifically their ‘social capital’.

3.2.12 Sociocultural issues

Bernstein's research has concentrated on aspects of cultural transmission in society. It gives a very precise description of the pedagogic mechanism through which educational and social inequality is reproduced in schools. Bernstein (1977, 1996) and Daniels et al (1996) have investigated and researched the macro-institutional environments in which individuals and organisations operate and function.

From their work, there is a body of reliable knowledge demonstrating that the socio-institutional structures can be related to individual

behaviour, referring to it as 'micro-interaction'. School knowledge is different from everyday knowledge because it and the school subjects are constructed through a social process, called recontextualisation (Bernstein, 1996). In schools this is seen at three levels:

1. Curriculum that defines what counts as valid knowledge
2. Production of textbooks
3. Subject interaction in the classroom.

Bernstein also carried out comprehensive work on the realisations of the formal educational knowledge that is transmitted within schools. Learners use three message systems to convert their acquired knowledge to fact and together these influence educational achievement:

1. Curriculum
2. Pedagogy
3. Evaluation (Bernstein, 1977: 88)

"The basic structure of the message system, curriculum is given by variations in the strengths of classification, and the basic structure of the message system, pedagogy is given by variations in the strength of frames" (ibid:89). The strengths of classification and framing can vary independently of each other.

Classification is associated with the content of the curriculum and the boundaries that exist between the different subject areas. Where they are well insulated and untainted, then the classification is strong. The opposite applies to weak status. Framing determines the structure of the 'message' system, namely pedagogic transmission (Bernstein, 1977). Christie (1999: 260) interprets this as the acquisition of 'voice'; what is made apparent and then becomes an accepted part of the message system. However, within the current education system, pedagogic transmission is becoming increasingly strongly framed (Owen, 2002).

Associated with pedagogic transmission is the pedagogic discourse, and Singh (1997: 6) explains it in simple terms. This consists of a group of rules or procedures for the production and circulation of knowledge within pedagogic exchanges. According to Bernstein (1996:46) quoted in Singh (op cit.), pedagogic discourse is not a discourse but a principle of recontextualisation “which embeds two discourses: a discourse of skills of various kinds (instructional discourse) and their relations to each other, and a discourse of social order (regulative discourse).” Pedagogic discourse is the rule which leads to the embedding of instruction (content, skills) in a social order resulting in a particular curriculum type always being established by the regulative discourse. The regulative discourse creates the social division of labour for knowledge production, transmission and acquisition. It sets the limits of these aspects in relation to school knowledge, the identities of teachers and pupils and the classroom order (ibid: 7).

Through Bernstein’s theory of cultural transmission (1981), the social differences that exist in schools can be compared with each other. This is done by analysing the degree of strength and weakness that exists within (and between) the school’s curriculum arrangements and the pattern that all relationships within and beyond the school follow. Schools are largely middle-class institutions in terms of the norms and values that they transmit. This is reinforced further by the fact that professional teachers have themselves been through the education socialisation process.

Bernstein (1977) has argued that because of social class, different language codes have evolved. These are referred to as an elaborated code and a restricted code, each having an influence on a child’s educational attainment. The elaborated code is the norm for middle class adults (including teachers) and their children in the home environment. In the case of the elaborated code, the speaker selects

from a wide range of syntactic alternatives, whereas in the case of the restricted code, the speaker draws from a narrow range: an elaborated code is marked by flexibility in syntactic organisation, whereas a restricted code is marked by rigidity (Turner, 1973:140). The restricted code is applied to a type of speech where those who use it share many experiences so the meanings are not made explicit. The code is characterised by short, grammatically simple and often unfinished sentences.

The elaborated code explicitly verbalises the detailed meanings so, therefore, teachers and pupils from a middle-class background will “speak the same language”. Bernstein suggests that because of the difference between the language codes, middle-class pupils have a definite advantage within the current education system, and referred to it as a ‘hidden subsidy’ (1977: 113). As long as written and verbal skills are being used for assessment purposes, pupils from a lower social group will always struggle to become high achievers. Bruner (1996: 27) reinforces this notion by reminding us that the contents of school curricula “are never far removed from considerations of social class, gender and the prerogatives of social power”.

3.2.13 Culture and social capital

Vygotsky (1935/1978) determined that the acquisition of skills was influenced by socio-cultural factors. He suggested that an individual’s intellectual thought and development were mediated or transformed through interaction with others in a social environment. Young people grow up in several environments, namely home, school and community, which provide the settings for social and intellectual experiences (Morrison and McIntyre, 1971). These surroundings enable them to acquire and develop skills and attitudes towards choices using the tools and signs (e.g. language and writing) that reflect the prevailing cultural

environment. These mediated how an individual thinks, creates and constructs knowledge. Vygotsky maintained that the social environment was crucial to learning patterns and future intellectual attainment.

According to Ramsey and Clark (1990), an individual's social capital comprises of the network of relationships surrounding them. The network involves ones' family and the broader community of adults of which the family may be a part. They argue that a child will only be a success at school if s/he brings qualities from home – which are characterised by Coleman (1987: 38) as “attitudes, effort and conception of self”. Leithwood et al (1999) note that when schools were originally designed as institutions of learning, they were based on the premise that pupils “came from the kind of functional, two-parent nuclear families that, in western cultures, were widely believed to be both typical and ideal”. It was assumed that they would provide the ‘social capital’ (Coleman, 1987) that could enable a child to acquire adequate social skills and networks to cope productively with the intellectual challenges of school.

Where there is a high value placed on education in the home, children are encouraged and helped by adults, parents or carers, therefore increasing their social capital. Also, as observed by Morrison and McIntyre (1971:73) where there is a lack of social confidence in the school context, there will be little contact with the school as it is assumed that it ‘knows best’. However, due to adult/parental work patterns, the family educational culture is being eroded (Leithwood et al, 1999). This is having a direct impact on reducing the opportunities a child has of acquiring adequate social capital. Many more middle-class parents participate when teachers request volunteers, especially when their children are at primary school. As pupils move up school, there is

a “distancing of the parent from the classroom [which] diminishes opportunities for home-school collaboration...” (Chrispeels, 1996: 299).

Coleman et al (1966) concluded that family factors were far more important in accounting for students’ school success than were school input factors. Therefore, family values, attitudes, educational aspirations and cultural factors which influence family practices in regard to their child’s education are also of more importance than socio-economic status. Regardless of family structure, some type of supportive educational practice will always exist. According to Chrispeels (1996: 300), there are 3 specific family actions that influence a child’s achievement at school:

1. Shared expectations by parents and students for academic performance;
2. Amount of time families expend in support of these expectations (which was more prevalent in higher socio-economic homes);
3. Students attitude toward performing the work necessary to gain success.

Low socio-economic status children, who live in an unsafe environment, may not have the experience in obtaining resources to support educational aspirations. Parents may have had negative school experience and are reluctant to establish contact with school – especially if a child is performing badly (Chrispeels, 1996: 306).

A pupil will be able to take more of an advantage of the opportunities offered at school if s/he has been exposed to a broad range of experiences prior to attending. Therefore, school culture plays an important role in allowing an individual to use their social capital to their best advantage, so enabling them to be part of an inclusive organisation. This is where the notion of ‘culture fit’ becomes crucial. If a pupil does not want to fall into the ‘way things are done around here’

category, no amount of advice and cajoling; sanctions and pressure will help that individual to expand their social capital. Effectively the pupil will 'opt out' because they can see no benefit to themselves if they conform.

These pupils will join a subculture of like-minded individuals who will exhibit a variety of behaviours in order to get through their school careers without losing credibility amongst their peer group (e.g. bullying; gay; racist; criminal activity; drugs). They spiral into poor behaviour and low attainment because the subculture values and beliefs dominate the school's culture. The subculture is the reality in which they feel a part and can establish a voice. The structures within the school have failed these individuals because they have focussed on the prevailing dominant culture, thereby effectively discriminating against pupils without the required social capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) refer to this notion as cultural reproduction, and suggest that schools cause major problems because they continue to use a curriculum that is based on values, beliefs, expectations and assumptions that are out of the reach of many families, and therefore pupils.

3.2.14 Conclusion

The 1990s literature has concentrated more on the role culture plays in making a school effective and the relationships that exist within and between subcultures. These interests have been precipitated by the pressure of a variety of external agencies consistently exerting an influence on the entire school community. Nias et al (1989) suggests that the role of a head teacher within this current climate in school is that of 'cultural leader'. However, with the numerous stresses and strains imposed on the role, I consider that there has been a subtle shift to him/her becoming 'ethos reinforcers'. The latter role in my opinion is more passive and less time consuming to police and manage

effectively, so enabling the head teacher to lead the school in the business of successful educational. The head teacher's role has had to include the provision of a pattern of behaviour on which all individuals within the school's community can identify. When this has been recognised and individual 'culture fit' has subconsciously occurred, the desired attitudes and behaviours will work with the prevailing culture and produce a distinctive ethos and culture that is unique to that school.

Therefore, as Stoll and Fink (1996) have suggested, it is possible to regard schools in terms of cultures as opposed to just one culture. However, this will only occur when the fundamental cultural roots that underlie all the values, hopes and fears of the organisation are fully embedded and able to take the stresses of new societal demands. In a school that has a 'closed' structure with numerous rules and regulations, staff and pupil subcultures will be rife in addition to the 'naturalised' divisions regarding subject knowledge. There is the opportunity for these to go unnoticed as they act informally. However, they are destructive and troublesome to the formal 'overt' culture because they undermine the school's cultural status quo. The members of these groups will be driven by the emotional responses of frustration, insulation and professional impotency. Nobody will know, except those belonging to these sub-groups what is happening on a daily basis.

Conversely, staff in an 'open' organisational structured school will be more willing to work in cross-boundary groups either formally or informally. Sissen (1994) refers to these as 'webs' that are formed by subsets of colleagues. They have common interests and are influenced by a desire for social relationships, and undertake continuous professional development. This flexibility together with active problem-solving as-and-when necessary has been called a 'moving mosaic' by Toffler (1990).

To sum up this chapter, I have shown that health education in the secondary school setting has had a marginalised existence on the curriculum for a long time. The subject can become more embedded within the school if the cultural conditions are conducive to the pastoral as well as the academic sides of education. However, as the educational climate for schools has become one that is driven by targets, teacher accountability and academic excellence, the curriculum has become orientated towards the higher status subjects of Maths, English and Science.

Writing about culture has caused differences in the field of study because as Jahoda (2012:299) points out, the most “striking feature” of the definitions he found from his work about the concept of culture was that they were so different from each other. He has concluded, “Culture is not a thing, but a social construct vaguely referring to a vastly complex set of phenomena” (p.300). When researching schools these complex phenomena will also be apparent because all the school population have individual social constructs that they bring with them. The way in which a school functions partly reflects the fact that the organisation is able to assimilate these and produce a culture that functions in today’s society.

In Chapter 4, I will explain my methodology and methods together with the philosophical reasons for their choices and the areas in which I want to find answers.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The research questions and methodology for this study are located in the field of the sociology of Education. The study investigated the school modality (culture) of four High Schools (11 – 16/18) and then explored the impact that this has on the subject area of PSHEed in which Health Education is located.

4.1.1 The Research Design

The overarching question for this study is:

‘An Investigation of the different modalities of schooling and their
implications for Health Education’

The research questions have been refined to find out the following:

1. How is Health Education operationalised in different modalities and why?
2. What are the consequences for the pupils?

In order to study the phenomena generated by these questions, the following research methods were used as shown in Table 4.1 overleaf.

AIM: To carry out an in-depth examination of the ways that teaching and learning of Health Education are influenced by the modality of the school.

Table 4.1: The Research Aim, Objectives and Methods Grid

OBJECTIVES	DATA REQUIRED	METHODS EMPLOYED
To investigate the school modality	Both pupil and teacher opinions to determine what occurs in school on a daily basis	Semi-structured questionnaire with an open question section Observation of corridors, classrooms and outside areas
To understand why there are differences between the schools	Evidence – either anecdotal or textual	Semi-structured interview with PSHE C-ord Read the Ofsted Report and school literature Thematic Content Analysis
To find out about the HEd provision within each school	Evidence – either anecdotal or textual	Discussion with PSHE Co-ord Perusal of documents

The fundamental design remained the same throughout the research process, but as it progressed I did add a few extra ideas, such as observation of areas away from the classroom. Robson (2007) refers to this as a ‘flexible design’ and it was a helpful notion because it enabled me to focus on issues that became apparent when walking around the playground and corridor areas. It also enabled me to refine my questions for the Focus groups.

Within this chapter, I will explain the Pilot Study and the outcomes then the methodology and their implications and then clarify the Research Design. Issues of validity, reliability, ethics and the impact of this research will also be addressed.

4.2 The Pilot Study

Robson (1995) maintains that any data gathering exercise should start with a pilot study. The reason for this is that it can help the researcher deal with any problems before the questionnaire or interview schedule is administered. From the outset of this research project, I envisaged using a Qualitative approach. It is a paradigm that emphasises the processes that underpin social activities through detailed descriptions of people's behaviour, beliefs and the contexts in which they occur. Due to the tendency towards detailed (or 'thick') description, the broader context of social behaviours can be explored and analysed. Qualitative research also has an emphasis on the process in order to capture the context. This arises as a result of wanting to set the research in a context at the start and then having the ability to reflect the underlying beliefs that individuals have of the world as an unfolding sequence of changes (Bryman, 1988:21).

I used a secondary school near to my home and with which I had good working relationships to provide a baseline for the proposed study. They were amenable to allowing me to carry out a pilot. My main aims were to pilot a questionnaire to pupils and carry out a Focus Group. I wanted to know what their opinion was of the school and how they interpreted the culture and their health education lessons. It was also done as a way to test the validity and reliability of the proposed methods. The questions on the questionnaire were informed from a review of the school prospectus and Ofsted Reports together with some of the 'Ethos Indicators' that MacBeath (1999) had compiled for use in his extensive study of school effectiveness (Appendix 2).

My intention was to use Year 9 students, but it became very clear they were not really aware that the school had a culture, partly because they did not understand the concept. This became very apparent from the questionnaire responses, so I carried out the same questionnaire with a

group of thirty-five Year 10 students. This resulted in a better variety of vocabulary that they used to explain the existing school culture.

I then talked to the PSHE staff and they gave me some guidance as to the language I should use with the group of pupils during the focus group. I then compiled a list of the words that they had mentioned and used them as 'triggers' for the focus group meeting. After I had completed this I then had a plenary session with the group where they gave me feedback on both the questionnaire design and the way the focus group was carried out.

Two main issues arose from this exercise; the first was the complexity of the language and the ambiguity of a few questions that I had used on the questionnaire and the second was the order in which I had placed questions. I asked the students to help me rewrite the questions so that they had more meaning for their age group and also to give me an idea of the order of the questions. They also suggested that I should include an open question at the end of the questionnaire so that respondents could list their observations about the content of their health education programme.

I also approached the PSHE coordinator of the school to ask her advice about the things that I should include about the school's environment and culture on a questionnaire for staff. I was mindful of the fact that all staff in schools are very busy people, so aimed to keep the length of the questionnaire to the maximum of two sides of A4 paper. I wanted to use a questionnaire that asked similar things of the staff to see if there was a congruence of views about the school culture and health education and use it as a method of triangulation. I also took the opportunity to ask the PSHE coordinator her views about the current status of health education and how the school viewed it to ascertain whether it was a viable area of research.

As a result of these discussions, the ambiguous language used for some of the questions was re-written and the layout was improved to give a more easily understood questionnaire that consisted of two pages of A4 paper, with fifteen questions divided into 4 sections:

1. Reputation of the school
2. Discipline
3. Encouragement and praise
4. Health Education.

(Appendix 3: Pupil Questionnaire).

I then commenced contacting secondary schools that were within a 30 mile radius of my home in which I could carry out my research. I had under-estimated how long this process would take because by the end of two weeks from sending out my invitation letters I had only had one response. It took a month to engage four schools who were willing to participate in the research and I was grateful that my Supervisors insisted that I ran the Pilot Study soon after Easter because I had a few weeks in hand before the end of the Summer Term.

4.3 Qualitative Approaches to Educational Research

Educational research, according to Cohen and Manion (1997), is the systematic and scholarly application of the principles of a science of behaviour to the problems of teaching and learning within the formal educational framework that leads the researcher towards a clarification of issues that have a direct or indirect influence on these concepts. This approach is also a way of developing a complex picture of the issue under study, so giving an holistic account (Cresswell, 2009:176).

There are different ways to implement education research but it is the nature of the research project itself that directs the choice of methods.

Within the qualitative paradigm there are a large array of strategies and techniques available to use. Mason (2006) suggests that in order to carry out qualitative research, three basic requirements should be taken into account. Firstly, it should be grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly interpretivist in the sense that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or comes into being. Secondly, it should be based on methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which the data are produced. Thirdly, it is based on methods of analysis and explanation building that involve understanding the complexity, detail and context.

Marshall and Rossman (1989:21) define qualitative research as 'a process of trying to gain a better understanding of the complexities of human interactions'. They suggest that through systematic means, the qualitative researcher gathers information about those interactions, reflects on their meaning, arrives at, and evaluates conclusions and eventually puts forward an interpretation of those interactions. As I mentioned in the introductory chapter, through working in different school and health settings, I became curious and interested in the different organisational environments; some accepted the Healthy Schools Programme and other schools did not. I wanted to explore and describe what I found, so it became a Proposal for this study.

The procedures used in qualitative research often produce descriptive data, through using interviewing and observation techniques, verbal and written descriptions. One of the features of this paradigm is that, 'qualitative researchers want those who are studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions. Therefore, qualitative research is an interactive process in which the persons studied teach the researcher about their lives' (Ely et al, 1991).

4.3.1 The Relevance of Social Constructionism

Social constructionism can be thought of as a theoretical orientation which offers critical alternatives in social science research. Social constructionism refers to the critical stance towards the taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and the people. Some researchers argue that social constructionism invites researchers to be critical of the idea that their observations of the world are not questioned and that they should challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based on objective, unbiased views of the world. They believe that social constructionism is in opposition to the assumptions that the nature of the world can be discovered by observation alone and, that what exists is what people perceive to exist.

The social constructionist idea is that people construct their own knowledge and understanding of the world through daily interactions with others in the course of their social and professional lives. Burr (1995) posits the idea that social constructionism has features that are different from the traditional social research paradigm. These are:

Anti-essentialism: Since the social world is the product of social processes, it follows that there cannot be any given determined nature to the world or people;

Anti-realism: Social constructionism denies that knowledge is a direct perception of reality. Within it there can be no such thing as an objective fact because all knowledge is derived from looking at the world from many perspectives. The search for truth about people and society is at the heart of social research from the outset;

Historical and cultural specificity of knowledge: Social constructionist researchers believe that all forms of knowledge are historically and culturally specific. An individuals' understanding of the

world, in terms of gender, religion, past or future, is dependent on where and when they lived;

Language as a pre-condition for thought: People are born into a world where the conceptual frameworks and categories followed by the individuals in the same culture already exist;

Language as a form of social action: When people talk to each other, part of their world is being constructed. The use of language and discourse is therefore a form of social action;

Focusses on interaction and social practices: In social constructionism research, the focus of the enquiry is on the social practices between people;

Focusses on processes: More attention is given to the dynamics of the social interactions as these are the focus of social constructionist research, e.g. discourse analysis could be used to identify the dynamics that exist in a school setting.

The principles of social constructionism have supported and influenced the shape of the research procedures for this study.

4.3.2 A Qualitative Paradigm for Understanding

Qualitative research is concerned with the characteristics of events and involves understanding the features of what is being studied. Social inquiry is conducted from within the inquirer's particular ways of seeing, hearing and understanding the social world (Greene, 2007:66). She continues by highlighting that the predispositions, beliefs, values and practical wisdom all contribute to this particular philosophical paradigm or mental models (Phillips, 1996; Smith, 1997). A mental model is a

“complex, multi-faceted lens through which a social inquirer perceives and makes sense of the social world” (Greene, 2007:13). Basically it is a set of assumptions, understandings, predispositions and values and beliefs that are meaningful to the researcher. I have included my mental models because they are part of the uniqueness of this research:

- Assumptions: that HEd is not valued by staff or pupils and that it has a variable presence in schools that range from tokenism to whole-school approaches
- Understandings: that the school timetable is very over-loaded and that teachers are stressed and dislike having to teach any aspect of PSHEd
- Predispositions: that schools are different in subtle ways and that HEd is almost unrecognisable within the PSHEd programme of study
- Values and Beliefs: that HEd is vital for the future health status of individuals and therefore the national economy, and believe that teachers would give the subject more credence if it was well resourced and had a level of recognition for those who teach it, such as a Responsibility point on the payscale.

These mental models have framed and guided this research and although there will be facets of them that are commonly shared with researchers who have had a similar educational background or professional experiences, they will not match mine exactly. Therefore, according to Greene (ibid), the mental models subsume philosophical paradigms.

Guba and Lincoln (1994:105) define a paradigm as a ‘basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of methods but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways.’ Due to the fluidity and exploratory nature of qualitative research, Thorpe

and Holt (2009) observe that, 'very often, there are no specific 'hypotheses' to be tested. Thus, a broad question is acceptable, with refinements or reformulations and identification of relevant questions for the particular situation undertaken as the study progresses.' This has been my experience; I started with a lot of ideas, and by going through each one systematically applying potential methods for data collection and reformulating them, I had two questions that I considered could be the basis for the study.

4.3.3. Qualitative Research and Organisational Culture Studies

Social constructionists like Burr (1995) believe that all the ways of understanding events are historically and culturally relative. Not only are they specific to particular cultures and periods of history, they are also products of that time and are dependent on specific sets of social and socialising arrangements within that culture at that time.

A considerable body of qualitative research now exists from the business and corporate sectors on the culture of organisations. In the 1980s, researchers including Drucker (1955), Peters and Waterman (1982) and Handy (1985) realised that each place had an uniqueness due to its structure and in terms of relationships and product and how they functioned. With the interest in school effectiveness and school improvement in the mid-1990s, school cultures were also being researched. Rudduck et al (1994) believe that a qualitative methodology provides the frame for thinking about the individuality that lies beneath the surface of the school structures. To explore the different aspects of a complex learning environment such as a large High school, it is necessary to examine the meanings that teachers attach to roles, structures and practices and capture the views of the pupils.

To fully understand school culture through qualitative research requires 'considerable thought about such things as power structures and patterns of participation; the relationship between the personal and professional values; the nature and importance of shared understandings, and the means of achieving some level of overall institutional self-knowledge' (ibid, 1994:9).

4.3.4. A Rationale for the qualitative nature of this research

The statements about qualitative research and its application to culture are relevant to this project. The study involves gaining an understanding of the way the school functions and then interpreting the implications that they have on the subject of PSHEed in which HEd is located.

Therefore, my methods are a combination of interpretative (I) and critical approaches (C) (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007:42), because:

- 1/. I am looking at society, groups and individuals (C)
- 2/. It is small scale research (I/C)
- 3/. Non-statistical (I)
- 4/. Subjective (I)
- 5/. Participant researcher (C)
- 6/. I am interpreting the specifics (I)
- 7/. Understanding actions and meanings (I)
- 8/. Investigating the 'taken for granted' (C)
- 9/. Looking at macro- and micro-concepts (C)
- 10/. Using Ethnomethodology (I)
- 11/. It is of practical interest (I)

In health research the primary method used for research was based on the 'medical' model approach (quantitative methods) and then

secondary to that the 'social' model (Oakley, 2000) which used qualitative methods. Although this research project is not looking to apply any sort of health intervention, it is trying to determine what individuals think about their quality of health knowledge so it is useful to have an idea of the methods that health professionals use. Beattie et al, (1997:234) summed up the situation as follows "On the one hand there have been the various traditions of quantitative evaluation[...]scientific research in experimental or quasi-experimental modes[...]or statistical or other numerical ways of 'figuring out performance[...]. On the other hand there emerged[...]a range of qualitative strategies[...]which focused on the portrayal of people, places and processes through ethnographic and other kinds of description".

Health researchers aim to understand the person's point of view when evaluating health interventions or simply finding out about health issues, so the 'social' model encourages community participation and empowerment and yields the better outcomes. This is something that the scientific research methods approach did not achieve. They are seen to be 'expert driven, authoritarian and disempowering; seeking evidence through narrow clinically based methods and short-term quantitative outcome measures' (Oakley, 2004).

As Greene, (2007:43) explains, "when two or more methods that have offsetting biases are used to assess a given phenomenon, and the results of these methods converge or corroborate one another, then the validity or credibility of inquiry findings is enhanced[...]more precise results are achieved by taking measurements from two or more positions". However, Brannen (2005:176) cautions that one method may not necessarily corroborate another when added together and will not 'produce a unitary or rounded entity'. She advises that at each stage of the research process, different types of methods can be introduced

depending on the type of data that is being collected. My reason for using more than one method was to strengthen the validity of the data. I am aware that generalisability is not as possible to achieve in qualitative research because the schools being studied are different from one another and not easily compared. Also, in order to investigate the culture of a school, a number of different areas within the school's organisational structure and practices needed to be researched. One sampling method was not going to provide the insights that I required so by using a combination of qualitative methods I was able to gain deeper understandings and reach dependable solutions (Cresswell, 2009; Bryman, 2008) within the time scale that I had available.

I have used a cross-sectional comparative design across the four schools in an attempt to provide a model that could be transferred to another setting by applying a well-established theory of cultural transmission (Bernstein, 2000). My research captured the views and life of four schools at one specific moment in time. I did not carry out any more fieldwork outside the Summer Term of 2008 because I wanted to understand the culture as it was lived then and not compare it with possible future changes as in a longitudinal study. That is why I chose this method over a Case Study approach.

The criticism that qualitative research lacks transparency is a fair one; in an effort to enhance the transparency of this study, I have included information about how the participants were selected and the way in which I analysed the data. Although I was an observer within each school, I kept a distance from the day-to-day life of the school because by getting too close to the participants would cloud my objectivity. I experienced 'snap shots' of the school on the occasions when I visited them; I wanted to be able to analyse the data with 'fresh eyes' and then ask questions to corroborate or refute the findings. Finally, the biggest reason for choosing qualitative methods was because I felt comfortable

with them as they suited my approach to dealing with people. As Thomas (2009:119) explains: “As an ethnographer, there is no attempt to deny your own personal knowledge or to put it to one side[...]you must use your knowledge of people, social systems and structures and how they relate rather than rejecting this knowledge[...]use it in a way that enables you to ‘see outside yourself’”.

4.4 The Ethnographic Approach

To carry out this research and gain some meaningful data, I took steps to create good working relationships with the schools who agreed to participate. I was known to the schools through the Health Promotion work that I had done five years prior to the research. Most of the staff were still in post so I had to re-establish a working relationship with them as they were effectively the ‘gate keepers’. I could not assume the same ‘privileged’ position as I had before when working for the Health Authority. I rationalised that the staff would be happier to accommodate my requests for lesson time if they could meet me and gain an understanding of what I was aiming to achieve.

Therefore, I considered the Ethnographic approach because I needed a design frame that was interpretative and intuitive. People have their own unique ways of perceiving and understanding the world and producing orderly social interaction. As a result of this approach, I would be able to understand the relationships that existed between the methods that I used. As part of my methods, I assumed the role of a participant observer where I engaged in ‘unstructured observation’ (Burgess, 1984); talking to people, watching, listening, experiencing the staff room, reading and generally getting immersed in the culture as much as my time would allow.

```
graph TD
    A[Literature search] --> B[ideas for study questions]
    B --> C[Identification of unit of analysis*]
    B --> D[Development of questionnaire]
    B --> E[Identified Pilot school and refined questionnaire]
    E --> F[Identified schools for main study]
    F --> G[Meet Heads and explain research]
    F --> H[Interview staff]
    F --> I[Collect data using questionnaire and observation]
    I --> J[used content analysis to find themes which group questions]
    I --> K[Carried out Focus groups]
    J --> L[Related findings to theory]
    K --> L
    L --> M[Conclusions]
    H -.-> M
```

KEY: ---- Assisted to ensure internal reliability as people confirmed my observations independently of myself.

— the direction of the research stages

This study has some external reliability because it can be replicated in other High Schools. However, the temporal situation will be different.

Due to the nature of qualitative research, and especially when it is used for a PhD study, there are constraints regarding the sample size and the time available for the physical collection of the data. Therefore, it is not easy to ensure validity and reliability because the sample is usually small (in this case 140 pupils and 47 staff) and there is no other researcher to corroborate the observations. I have sought to use the

evaluation criteria proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1994) that are 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity'.

Trustworthiness is composed of four criteria and I have endeavoured to fulfil them as I carry out my research:

- Credibility: By using the sampling techniques chosen, I have been able to triangulate the findings by cross-checking between each technique. Scott and Usher (1998) have stated that triangulation is particularly relevant to the examination of organisational culture, because different methods of data collection can be used to target different layers of the culture, e.g. observation can be used to understand the artefacts; in-depth interviews can aid the interpretation of the deeper assumptions within an organisation.
- Transferability: Investigating the school setting with the four methods I will provide a rich and 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the aspects of the culture and its effect on HEd. Although the findings are unique for my particular research, it would be possible to carry out similar studies in other schools using the same techniques.
- Dependability: During the fieldwork stages I made notes and recorded the Focus group interviews which I have transcribed. During the planning stages I sought information and advice from School nurses and the LEA Advisor for PSHE. As far as I was able, I consider that this study is as reliable as possible within the time constraints.

The other evaluation criterion is 'Authenticity' and is concerned with the wider impact of the research. The following issues are applicable to my research scenario:

- *Fairness*: I have represented the different viewpoints from Year 10 pupils and staff in each of the schools through using the same sampling tool in each.
- *Ontological authenticity*: I had a feedback session with the Heads and key staff after the study in order to related my findings about their school's position.
- *Educative authenticity*: The findings of the pupil questionnaires and Focus groups were shared with the PSHE Co-ordinators. This gave them an insight into how the pupils viewed their PSHEed provision.
- *Catalytic authenticity*: I feel that where the schools have a determination to improve their PSHEed provision, the research has provided them with a balanced and neutral baseline on which they can plan future changes.
- *Tactical authenticity*: The PSHE Co-ordinators will have evidence about the views of the pupils and can use these to implement any changes.

I have followed these criteria in an attempt to reduce the criticism that qualitative research is too subjective. Together with the research questions, I have refined the study's intentions so that the research is bounded by the two aspects of culture and HEd.

When explaining about the techniques that I would use to gather the data I made it clear that I respected pupil's decision should they not want to participate in any part of the research. This approach would enable the pupils to negotiate their own terms of engagement (or not) with the whole process. For my part, I endeavoured to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect, as this would benefit my data collection forays. It has been demonstrated that where pupils are offered a respectful and supportive environment, their social

performance will improve (Kyriacou, 1985) and I needed their co-operation.

4.4.1 The Participants

The setting for this research was the English secondary level school, or High School that catered for pupils from the age of 11 to 16 or 18 years. Pupils enter the school and go into Year 7, and stay within the school until Year 11; if the school has a Sixth Form, then the pupils leave in Year 13 aged 18. The area in which the research was based has a '3-tier' system, which means that some pupils transfer from Primary school at the age of 11 into Year 7 or, they change schools in Year 8 (age 12), having attended a Middle School. After the schools had been accepted, I then realised that two of the schools had Year 8 entry and three of them had Sixth Forms. Each of the Schools was assigned a random letter as means of identification (namely X, C, H and W) and their names and locations are not noted anywhere in this thesis, see below:

TABLE 4.2: School descriptions and response rates			
SCHOOL IDENTIFIER	STAFF RESPONSE	NUMBER ON ROLL	NUMBER OF RESPONSES FROM PUPILS
X	14	1369	22 Boys=3/Girls=19
C	10	1233	39 Boys=17/Girls=22
H	13	910	79 Boys=31/Girls=48
W	4	720	0

Due to these differences, I used Year 10 (14-15 year olds) because my target group had been attending their respective schools for at least two years and so would have "constructed their own realities and meanings

[and] then adapted them to the system and acquire(d) the school's ways of perceiving, feeling and carrying out discourse" (Bruner, 1996:151). Within their academic 'lives', they were not so pressured by examination stress because they were in the first year of their GCSE courses and the timetable has a bit more flexibility to accommodate 'extra-curricular' activities. It has been found by the Keys and Fernandez (1993), that general knowledge gains are more marked between the end of Year 9 and the beginning of Year 10 and that pupils are aware that it is their responsibility to use health information to pursue a healthy lifestyle.

I negotiated visits with staff once all the permissions had been finalised and went into the schools during the Summer Term of 2008 undertaking five visits with each one. Within the academic year, this term is marginally less busy with many pupils being out on school trips or work experience. When the NFER (ibid) carried out their study in schools it was found that the response rate for secondary schools was much better in the Summer Term. This was an advantage because there was usually a room available for my meetings and the general atmosphere was less noisy. Table 4.3 shows my research Timetable was as follows:

TABLE 4.3: Research Timetable

Before the Easter break 2008	Completed Ethics requirements for the University of Bath Composed and sent letters to the Head Teachers inviting participation
On return to school after the Easter break	Carried out the Pilot Study
Early May Mid-May	Meeting with HT to explain Research aims and objectives Met LEA PSHE Advisor
Early June	Meeting with key staff in each school to arrange dates for questionnaire and Focus

End June	Group sessions Carried out questionnaires and observed how the schools functioned
Early July	Collected completed questionnaires and carried out Focus Group sessions
Before the end of term	Feedback of research findings to the HTs and key staff involved Letter of thanks to Year 10 participants

4.5 Data Collection Methods

I interviewed Heads, pupils, key members of staff in each school and the LEA Advisory teacher for PSHE. The methods included observation, semi-structured questionnaires and focus groups with Year 10 pupils and semi-structured questionnaires to staff and content-analysis.

4.5.1 The Survey – Pupil Questionnaire

The survey is a research method characterised by a systematic collection of data about the same variables from different respondents. The questionnaire is the most commonly used descriptive method in educational research. Cohen and Manion (1997) suggest that surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions. I endeavoured to keep the content and layout of the questionnaire as simple as possible and as a result of the Pilot study had reduced the ambiguity of the questions so that the occurrence of misunderstanding was reduced.

The questionnaire consisted of fifteen questions and apart from Questions 1 and 13 were structured using Likert scales, with each question having five response categories. The statements were selected so that for half the statements 'agree' represents a positive

attitude and for the other half, it represents a negative attitude. The intervals ranged from 1 (strongly agree/always); 2 (agree/nearly always); 3 (not sure/sometimes); 4 (disagree/hardly ever) and 5 (strongly disagree/never). Question 1 and 13 enabled respondents to add any comments. The main limitation of using Likert scales is that pupils need a high verbal ability to understand what is being asked.

4.5.1.1 Staff Questionnaire

I had intended to survey the teachers in each school, especially to gain an understanding of their view of the culture and so that I could increase the validity of the research. When I discussed this with one of the PSHE Co-ordinators, who was also the Deputy Head, she advised me against the idea because the teachers were busy with compiling the annual end of year reports and they were also involved with school trips and other activities because it was near the end of the term. I accepted these reasons, but put twenty questionnaires into each school with a notice in the staff room saying that I would appreciate some help with my study and that completing was entirely voluntary. I was acutely aware that teachers are bombarded with literature all the time and knew from experience that if they did not immediately engage with the layout of the questionnaire, "it may provide the respondent with a justification for committing it to the waste paper basket" (Nisbet and Entwistle, 1970:44). Attached to each questionnaire was a stamped-addressed envelope because this has been shown to improve the response rate.

I devised a 2-sided questionnaire with seven questions that were to do with school culture and ethos. The first three questions asked for personal information about their role and time in school. Three questions were open-ended and one was a ranking exercise asking respondents to put the fifteen statements in order of priority when thinking about their importance to the development of the culture and ethos. I wanted the scripts back, so put a two-week deadline date for

return. Bell (1987:66) suggested this because “experience has shown that it is unwise to allow too long[...]it becomes too easy for subjects to put the questionnaire to one side, which often means that it will never be seen again”. I achieved over 70% response rate from three of the schools (Appendix 4).

4.5.2 Focus Groups

As a follow-up to the questionnaire, I wanted to get a better understanding of some of the issues that were raised. According to Knight (2002:70-71), the use of focus groups enables the researcher to explore the provisional findings, but not determine them. They are a method to understand the current ideas that people are concerned about, but do not measure an objective ‘strength of feeling’.

There were six to eight pupils present in each focus group and I used the questionnaire data to construct an ‘interview’ schedule (see Appendix 6). This method has been used successfully in school environments, especially when the pupils come from the same social grouping (i.e. Year 10). Michell (1997) used the technique to map out the relationships between young people in a particular neighbourhood. It has been found to be a useful technique to explore pupil’s experiences, opinions, wishes and concerns within a given cultural context such as a school (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999:5).

4.5.3 Interviews

Interviews can be carried out to enrich the researchers’ understanding of the research context. According to Borg and Meredith (1983) they are a good method to gain a reasonable combination of objectivity and depth. They can also be seen as an important means of testing the applicability of the theoretical knowledge obtained during the research

process and integrating it into practice. One of the important purposes was to cross-check and demonstrate that the data gained from the other techniques had some congruency.

The interviews were with a small number of staff in each school. The reason for carrying them out was to elicit their thoughts and feelings as people usually describe things from their own perspectives. As Patton (1990) has observed, "We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world – we have to ask people about those things" (p.196). Interviews can be seen as an important means of testing the applicability of the theoretical knowledge that a researcher collects during the course of the research. The interview technique is most successful when it is like a 'give and take' conversation between two or more people where informal exchanges of words occur (Denzin and Lincoln, 1985).

I have used semi-structured interviews so I had a guide for the questions I wanted to ask, but was able to steer the conversation to explore any interesting issues that arose due to the flexibility of the method. As Robson (1995:231) observes, an interviewer can modify the order of the questioning "based upon [their] perception of what seems most appropriate in the context of the conversation, can change the wording, give explanations and leave out particular questions if they are not necessary". I only had the maximum of 40 minutes so I wanted the interview to be more like a conversation, but not to be totally unstructured. I was aware of the pitfalls of using over-long questions or biased and leading questions, all of which would not elicit useful information for my research.

4.5.4 Observation

4.5.5.1 Non-participation

I undertook non-participant observation in each school whenever I visited so that I could build up a picture of the routines that made up the daily life. I did not do this covertly, but at the same time I did not make an issue of it because I wanted to be as unobtrusive as possible and so diminish the effect of my being there. So I was an observer who did not participate in what was happening in the school setting. I did not use a coding sheet, but wrote down my thoughts in the car when I had left the building. I have been subjected to professional observations during Ofsted inspections and because of that experience, I made a decision not to use any method that was overt and intimidating.

4.5.5.2 Lesson Observation

As a method of relating the theoretical framework to the lesson content, I used an adapted version of Flanders's Interaction analysis sheet (Flanders, 1970). It enables an observer to discover interactions that occur during a lesson. I focussed particularly on pupil engagement, the teaching style, the classroom environment and the pupil talk.

I negotiated my presence with each teacher and made it clear that I was not examining their professional skills. I chose five pupils to observe in each HEd lesson that I attended, but could not keep to a rigid time lapse between each observation as is recommended because too many other things were going on in the background. My main reason for including this method was to experience the classroom environment and obtain a snapshot view of the cultural values in this scenario.

My main concern with using this method was the issue of "observer bias" because I was unable to be as scientific with the method as I had

hoped. My other concern was that this method could be construed as being covert because I was not introduced to the class by the teacher. However, no-one took any notice of me and I was ignored by the pupils. I spent the same amount of time in each lesson and adhered to the areas that I had chosen to observe, recording the information accurately and writing up any field-notes in the car as soon as I left the premises (Appendix 7).

4.5.4.3. LEA PSHE Advisor

I was concerned that because I could not gain school information from the staff to assist with, I devised a method to get the same information from Ms Advisor (pseudonym) to assist with reliability and validity of the research.

Details about each school were taken from each school's prospectus, together with my initial observations and listed on paper. I wanted to know if she could identify each school from the statements, having told her that it concerned four specific schools that I named. She was not told the codes and as I knew where the school details had come from, could check if they were correct. (Appendix 8)

4.6 Content Analysis

Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through a process of identifying themes and patterns. Schreier (2012) suggests that it is a useful method, but that it is a "complex process where we bring together our perception of the material with our own individual background: what we know about the topic, the situation in which we encounter it and how we feel at the time[...] we construct the meaning".

I used this method as a way of comparing the results of the open questions on the Staff questionnaires in order to find the differences. I am a kinaesthetic learner so I approached the task of analysing these responses from that practical stance. The words that were given for ***Question 5: Write down ten words that you feel accurately describes the ethos of this school***, were noted and typed up onto a different coloured sheet of paper for each school. Closely related themes from each school were grouped together and then compared resulting in a set of over-arching themes. It is an iterative process that reduces the data into manageable and meaningful classifications (see Appendix 9).

4.7 Ethical Issues

Ethical practices are central to social science research (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007:173). They go on to say that at every stage of the research process ethics should be in the back of the researcher's mind. In addition to adhering to the requirements of the Ethics Committee at Bath University, I also followed the accepted ethical standards listed below:

- Ensuring that neither the participants nor myself will come to no harm during the research process
- Obtaining informed consent from all the participants
- Explaining to them that their responses are anonymous and will be treated as confidential
- Leaving the research process so that participants felt that they had contributed and giving feedback to the staff involved.

As these standards demonstrate, the research took account of the aims and effects of research, of the benefits it might bring and the harms it might inflict (Harden et al, 2001). As school research involves people, it

is essential that their rights and interests be considered (Denscombe, 2002: 174-193). In the case of researching young people, it is an ethical imperative that they are listened to as they have views and opinions about their social, cultural and economic factors that are valid (after Harden et al, *ibid*).

I took great pains to give the Year 10 pupils details of the research and they were given the opportunity to opt out of participation in both the questionnaire and/or focus groups. The pupils were randomly selected by the PSHE Co-ordinator in each school and I do not know if the same individuals participated in both parts of the data collecting.

4.8 Ontological and Epistemological Stance

As it is, all social research is considered to be persuasive, purposive, positional and political (Clough and Nutbrown, 2010). I have attempted to recognise these aspects as I have undertaken the research and an explanation of my thought processes follow:

- ***Being persuasive*** – in that I am investigating an idea about culture and exploring the meanings and interpreting what I discover about how it might impact the position of Health Education in schools. Therefore, I would like to bring about a difference and raise awareness about the findings
- ***Being purposive*** – by looking at existing assumptions about culture and its effect within a school setting and through answering my research questions, produce some new knowledge
- ***Being positional*** – by identifying the emerging issues and creating the best methodology to communicate the findings.
- ***Being political*** – due to my professional views and beliefs as stated in the next section. So, in the first instance I need to think about the context of my study (*ibid* Chapter 1:3-12).

Within a constructionist ontological view, social reality is an ongoing series of episodes of individuals rather than an enveloping something that is done to them from outside the organisation or culture (Bryman, 1988:20). Schools are socially constructed and the values within them will drive the aims and the way knowledge, power and control are achieved and enacted.

4.9 Context of my Research

It is set within a High School context and located in a single Local Authority in middle England, UK. The study has investigated the culture that was apparent and the subject of Health Education in four schools. In a social context, 11 to 18 year olds are at a stage in their lives when they start to take risks with their health. These include habits such as smoking, drinking and drug-taking, unprotected sexual liaisons, leading to teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections, inactive lifestyles, stress and poor mental health and participation in gang culture activities. Not all adolescents get involved, but the media portrayal of binge-drinking girls and violent male youths (as examples) sends the message to the general population that young people are out of control and the blame lays with the schools.

Schools are already under pressure from the Government to improve the standards of education achievement and adopt Academy status that places an extra workload on busy teachers, Heads and Governors. The political context is one of targets, assessment and tracking of pupils' progress as a day-to-day activity, on top of which is the constant anxiety that the call from Ofsted will come and a team of Inspectors will be in the school within the following few days. In addition to the educational directives, Health and Social Services also develop policies that involve schools. These expect schools to embrace the suggestions put forward, which may include changes in work practices, reporting practices or the

devoting of time to a new initiative, such as The National Healthy School Standard (NHSS). This was a joint project developed by the Department of Health and the Department of Education, and was welcomed by the then Schools Minister.

These are the issues that have shaped my research. I have first-hand experience of the working environment within a large High School. It is stressful, not because of the subject teaching, but because of the constant reviews of personal practice, assessment and tracking of pupils' progress and the prescriptive nature of the methods required to achieve the school's targets for examination success. It is a situation now where Heads and the Senior Management Teams (SMT) are constantly in a panic about failing some aspect of the Ofsted inspection and risk having the school being placed in Special Measures. This is where the school has not achieved a good enough standard in one area of the inspection and is put under even closer scrutiny from Ofsted, with a timescale to rectify the problems.

There is now very little time for fun activities to happen spontaneously in schools because the timetable is so full – any gaps are filled with 'exam-skills' training or extra Numeracy and Literacy sessions for the pupils who are not at their projected target-level. In the current climate, PSHE is not regarded as an essential subject and as it is a non-statutory component of the National Curriculum it is not afforded much space. English, Maths and Science dominate the timetable with the first two subjects claiming the majority of lesson time. This is directly due to the fact that the Government has issued targets that schools must reach for Literacy and Numeracy levels for every pupil. This is the context in which Health Education is located; surrounded by a school culture where failure cannot be countenanced and schools are constantly being blamed for the problems that beset society.

Therefore, I consider that my research is positional for the reasons mentioned above and my values will influence the way in which I interpret the research findings. As I am aware of this, I will be honest in my reporting so as to reduce any bias. From a political stance, I firmly believe that all pupils should have the opportunities during their time at school to achieve their potential, either academically and/or vocationally. Their potential should also include their mental, emotional and physical well-being so that they are able to pursue gainful careers in the future.

The difference that my research could make is to reiterate the importance of health and well-being and remind Policy-makers that young people are not fodder for the examination machine that has come to dominate every aspect of Key stages 4 and 5 in High schools. They are individuals who should be nurtured and considered in a holistic way.

I would like to see HEd back on the curriculum and extricated from PSHE and Citizenship so that the subject has an identity of its own. Being subsumed within PSHEd has reduced its significance in the eyes of the pupils. HEd only seems to come onto the school's agenda when some issue has occurred (e.g. drinking alcohol on the school's premises), and then is crisis-managed in a session led by an 'expert' who can address the problem. The other approach to HEd that schools have adopted is to have a 'drop-down' day about Health. This is where the timetable for the day is collapsed and the whole school is involved in attending different health sessions that have been organised and run by outside agencies such as the British Heart Foundation; school nurse; Smoking cessation, police, drink aware campaign, and the sexual health clinic.

4.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explained the reasons for using a qualitative methodology and how I developed my study. The next chapter will explain the results and give an analysis of the data for each school.

Chapter 5: Results and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a snapshot of the secondary school culture and the impact it has on health education provision. It is based on data from the questionnaires that specifically asked what it was like to be part of the school, together with details from secondary sources that included the school prospectus and the Ofsted report. It is intended to present a backdrop of each school and an idea of the context and their values, beliefs and attitudes, together with the modality that will be derived from Bernstein's theories.

It is obviously not representative of what takes place in other schools within the county, or indeed England, but it does provide an insight into the workings of a school. With the data that I have collected, it may be possible to predict a specific outcome regarding health education, teaching and learning.

Four schools participated in the research; they were all secondary phase and within one County boundary. To protect their anonymity each one has been given a "school identifier" letter which are X, C, H, W. There were 140 completed pupil questionnaires, together with 6 to 12 pupils from each school participating in the focus groups. In addition, 47 staff questionnaires from the four schools were returned. What this research has attempted to do is carry out a cross-sectional analysis of each organisation's HEd provision and the prevailing cultures that were evident at the time of the research.

5.2 Observations of the Daily Functioning of Each School

5.2.1 School X

This establishment was built in the early 1970s to cater for the increasing population that had come to live in the new town. It is a large school of 1000+ pupils and is very competitive in sporting activities and their position in the league tables. Pupils are from very varied socio-economic backgrounds with some living in quite deprived circumstances.

Health education has a wide-ranging programme and the team involved have developed some excellent resources. However, the pastoral side of the school is seen as very secondary to the academic endeavours. The Head is very assertive about using any available timetable space for exam-orientated skills. Staff have commented on the stressful environment and the lack of support from SMT regarding behaviour issues that exists amongst a small core group of disengaged boys. Due to the sprawling nature of the school buildings, the various departments are quite separate and “balkanised” (Hargreaves, 1994). They are also very competitive and because of this any interdepartmental cooperation is difficult to realise and whole school staff meetings are tense. In this atmosphere health education is seen as unimportant and when a “drop-down” day¹ was suggested for PSHE, many subject areas would only allow certain pupils to attend (i.e. the less academic), because the activity was seen to be disrupting the learning and therefore impact on exam results.

The grounds of the school are quite large and are enclosed by a high metal fence with CCTV. The biggest problem that pupils have is getting to lessons on time, especially if they have had Games one lesson and

¹ “Drop-down” days are used when the normal timetable is collapsed and the whole school participates in an activity.

then have to get to the other side of the school for a Science lesson. The pupils find this very stressful because there are sanctions if they are late for lessons. The school buildings are functional, with the interior walls being bare concrete, except in the main reception area. Each classroom has a brightly painted door to offset the starkness of the walls, which also appeared to make the corridors dark. There was a mixture of classroom presentations; some had fantastically vibrant wall displays and lots of information about the subject area that was taught in that space, whilst others just had a few obligatory notices stuck onto drab coloured noticeboards - some had not been changed for the entire year.

The main public area of the school has a prominent cabinet of Cups and Trophies and the walls are covered with framed certificates demonstrating the success of the school either as an organisation together with newspaper articles that praised the school in the wider community. There was a designated seating area for visitors and a coffee table covered in school brochures. No one could reach this area without being admitted by the reception staff, and very few pupils used this route to classrooms because there was another sanction for cutting through the concourse. The Head's office was very well insulated from the rest of the school and protected by the reception staff.

5.2.2 School C

This school is located in a rural and agricultural area; it was built in the 60s and has evolved from a Technical School. It takes pupils from 12 to 18 and has a broadly middle-class intake, but also some children from families who are on the poverty end of the spectrum due to the seasonal nature of the agricultural work patterns. Many people work in the market gardening sector that provides fruit and vegetables to the large national supermarkets.

This school has made great improvements to the appearance of an otherwise characterless building. Connecting areas between buildings which house different departments are visually stimulating with pupils art and sculpture placed in amongst areas of planting. They are a talking point and reflect the schools ethos of valuing all abilities. The main reception hall is extremely large and has a number of corridors and the main staircase leading from it. On my first visit it gave me the impression of a departure lounge at a small airport as it was a hub of activity with people going in all directions. On closer inspection it was the focal point for the notices of the day's activities both during and after school and the food menu for the week. Another wall was covered in newspaper articles about school teams and pupil successes in the local community, and yet another area show-cased pupils art and literary work.

During the weeks that I was in the school I saw amazing artwork, intricate technical/digital drawings and a fantastic display on "Space" that included articles from the whole of year 8. It was fascinating to see pupils take an interest and critically appraise their work and that of their peers. On one occasion a pupil was looking intently at the display and an older girl came up and spoke to her and she left with a huge smile on her face. It transpired that she was looking for her contribution and the girl who spoke to her congratulated her on the piece of writing that she had done.

The staff are very committed and most of them have been in post for a long time. There appeared to be friendly rivalry between departments, but they made a point of doing something social as a whole staff body once or twice a term. This strengthened the working relationships and encouraged cross-departmental working. Daily staff briefings included all staff - the caretaker, canteen staff, technicians and secretaries. It was business like and succinct. Any issues with pupils were shared so

that if someone “kicked-off” staff knew there was a reason for it and the issues could be swiftly dealt with by the senior staff. Exclusions were used as an ultimate deterrent. All staff could usually defuse the situation before it reached this level of sanction.

The classrooms were busy and noise levels were appropriate to the tasks undertaken. There were only a few pupils outside classrooms during lesson time and they were either on an errand or waiting to be collected for an appointment out of school. A sizeable amount of money has been spent on the decor and it has made the interior welcoming and professional-looking. A number of the corridors have been carpeted as a way to reduce noise levels and, the walls have bright noticeboards with displays that are regularly changed.

5.2.3 School H

This school has a long history, having been a prestigious grammar school before becoming a centre of excellence for the sciences. It is an academic school with above average results, at both GCSE and A level public examinations. It is an academic school and caters for about 700 pupils between 11 and 18. Parents are middle-class and many of them have moved into the local area so that their children can attend school.

The Staff are very committed to the collegiate style of working and all departments embrace whole school activities on a regular basis. Health education is central to their values and they are open to working with a number of outside agencies in order to provide the depth and breadth of the PSHEed subject area. Pupil well-being is paramount, and the school has a well-established ‘drop in’ service that young people can access when they need to discuss something confidential regarding any aspect of their life. It is staffed by a local GP and the School Nurse and contributes to the ethos of caring that the school espouses.

The school has been developed around the original quadrangle and there are many places to sit and talk in amongst pleasantly landscaped planted areas in the outside spaces. Although the school field has diminished in size due to the new permanent buildings, the public areas do not appear crowded. The canteen is purpose-built and the pupils enjoy the opportunity to relax and chat to friends over lunch. The system is self-service and the majority of pupils take a cooked lunch.

The interior of the school is well cared for and very vibrant, with every wall space full of displays which are fresh and eye-catching. There was no litter in evidence and pupils seemed happy to help to keep the spaces clean.

5.2.4 School W

This comprehensive school is not functioning at full capacity because there is competition from four other state schools and three independent schools within and near the same catchment area. It is located on the edge of the city in an economically depressed area with high unemployment, prevalent drug and alcohol problems and an entrenched gang culture on the surrounding housing estates.

Health education is taught, and although there is a planned programme the SMT appear to hijack the designated timetable space to 'fire fight' social issues that spill over into school from the community. It appears to be used as a way to disseminate rules and regulations about something that has happened outside school, that has inevitably diffused into some pupils daily lives within school. External agencies work with the school, not so much to provide advice and a forum for questions to be answered by an 'expert', but to reiterate messages that certain types of behaviour and attitudes will not be tolerated inside or

out of school. In addition, consequences for deviant actions are dealt with and they can be as serious as permanent exclusion.

The staff appear to be “ground down” by the constant poor behaviour of a number of individuals. SMT supports them but even after a period of exclusion, when an individual comes back into school, the problems return and lesson disruption and poor behaviour is a constant issue. A number of the teachers are near retirement age and it is noticeable that there are very few younger members of staff. Staff retention at this school has been an issue of growing concern for the last three years. The school has pupils from 11-16 and is not known for its academic successes, but it has a very successful vocational programme. Many pupils who gain places on training schemes locally were initially placed in allied fields during their periods of work experience.

The physical spaces both in and out of the school are cramped. The original spaces allocated as playgrounds have been used to site temporary buildings to give much-needed classroom space. The remaining areas are well worn and shabby and the pupils do not respect them even though the cleaners endeavoured to keep them in a clean and presentable condition. Inside the school, wall displays are put up periodically but a number of them end up torn or written on. Respect for the efforts of others is not high on some of the pupil's agendas. There are a number of sub-cultures that are known to the staff and these are in existence as a direct result of the lack of space outside and the local neighbourhood.

The school's reception area was almost missed as it was not obvious on entering the main entrance. Three people worked behind a glass-enclosed office and visitors had to approach a small hatch to be allowed admittance after being handed a very obvious identity badge. It was not a very welcoming area, which was compounded by the fact that it was

located next to the staff room and adjacent to the Head's office. There was no place to sit in reception. Pupils who had been sent to see the Head for some misdemeanour usually occupied the existing chairs.

5.3 The Head's Leadership and Management Styles

The accounts given above were my initial impressions of each school, and as a non-participant observer and teacher, I was attuned to the differences that I experienced. In an effort to triangulate my perceptions I approached the LEA Adviser for PSHE to verify my initial thoughts and also to ask her to give me a verbal profile of the leadership and management styles of each school's Head, which are as follows:

- **In School H** the Head's style of management was by "walking about", he was very hands-on and expected pupils to work to their ability whilst at the same time recognising that there were differences in ability levels. He treated staff with respect and acknowledged their strengths. The school had a welcoming atmosphere and NQT's felt nurtured and supported during their early careers. He took a genuine interest in the research.
- **In School X** the Head's agenda was one of high expectation and therefore high results and that everyone under his leadership would work and uphold the school policies and rules. He was very interested in promoting his own profile and marketing the school and was off-site quite regularly furthering these activities. He was dismissive of the research but gave his consent and directed me to liaise with a Head of Department at all times as he did not want to be involved. There were pockets of discontent within the staff body and there was not much support for NQTs, who felt very vulnerable.

- **In School W** the Head strived to make links with outside agencies and worked hard to raise the profile of the school within the locality, partly because of its poor reputation. His leadership style was one of cascading powers to his deputies; he was more of a figurehead but still very hands-on. Staff seemed to be operating in a chaotic environment with little support and the schools aim was to keep pupils safe and out of criminal activity. NQTs used survival tactics to get through their first year in school but they did not stay long in post.
- **In School C** the Head was nearing retirement and had a hands-on approach and a collegiate style of leadership. He expected high academic and vocational standards and good behaviour from the pupils. He advocated mutual respect from the staff and pupils throughout the school. He involved all staff in decision making through staff meetings and working parties that regularly involved parent representatives and members of the governing board. He encouraged staff to attend training sessions as he saw them as a key benefit to colleagues and pupils and staff felt very well supported. He worked hard to establish good working relations with local employers and knew many of the pupils by name, and took a personal interest in their progress.

In schools H and C, because staff were established, there were strong links with families as many of the staff had taught their parents, aunts, uncles et al, so any problems were dealt with quickly and successfully.

5.4 The Analysis of the Questionnaires and Focus Groups

5.4.1 The Pupil and Staff Questionnaires

Together with the data from the other methods used, the findings have produced new ideas that continue to evolve, therefore providing a basis for grounding the theory for the study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Bowler, 2000). As discussed in the Methodology chapter, fifteen questions were structured using Likert scales, with questions 1 and 13 providing an opportunity for respondents to add any comments. There are four sections on the pupil questionnaire: the reputation of the school; discipline; encouragement and praise and Health Education.

5.4.2 SCHOOL X

SECTION 1: REPUTATION OF THE SCHOOL

QUESTION 1: *Do people think this is a good school to come to?*

The highest response rate was in category 3 (not sure). Reasons given to support this are as follows:

Poor quality teachers	School is seen as being very academic
Good results	Troublemakers
Bad behaviour	Disrupted lessons

QUESTION 2: *Do your parents/guardians attend school meetings during the year?*

The majority of responses indicated that parents do attend meetings, but 32% do not.

QUESTION 3: *Is the school clean and tidy (e.g. litter, graffiti, toilets)?*

The majority of the respondents indicated that the school environment

is clean.

ANALYSIS POINTS:

The school may be giving out mixed messages regarding the type of pupil that it is trying to attract. The parents who do attend meetings feel the need to keep in contact with the school in order to understand what it is that they are doing with their children. They are usually parents of the average ability pupils because it has been found in this school that if the parents are disinterested, then their children probably become part of a group who will 'sink' first and become the most disengaged. The majority of the 32% of parents who never attend meetings are those who, due to their socio-economic status, have never valued what the education system has to offer, be it for themselves or their children.

SECTION 2: DISCIPLINE

QUESTION 4: *Is anti-social behaviour (e.g. bullying, swearing at a teacher, fighting etc) allowed by teachers in your school?*

87% are in agreement that anti-social behaviour is not allowed by staff.

QUESTION 5: *Do teachers take any action when school rules are broken?*

ALL the respondents consider that staff take action when the school rules are broken; with category 2 (agree) receiving the highest score.

QUESTION 6: *Do you think the school rules help the reputation of the school?*

The majority of respondents agreed that the school rules assist the reputation of the school.

QUESTION 7: *When you are not ill, are you ever away when you should be in school?*

Only 9% would consider 'bunking off' on a regular basis, regardless of the sanctions.

QUESTION 8: *If you are absent without a reason, is action taken by school?*

76% agreed that action would be taken by the school if they bunked off.

ANALYSIS POINTS:

Different teachers have different levels of tolerance regarding anti-social behaviour, even though there are policy guidelines in place. Therefore, pupils perceive that some of the teachers let their peers get away with unacceptable standards of behaviour. It would appear (from anecdotal evidence) that the majority of teachers believe that they have to take action, even though it might be inappropriate in some cases.

The majority of pupils would never consider bunking off from school, because the 'controlled' environment does not tolerate this type of behaviour. However, those that would attempt to skip school, belong to a core of individuals for whom the school has a number of challenges. They are low-ability, persistently disruptive pupils who are barely "contained" on the days that they don't skip lessons!

The teachers may well be giving mixed messages to the pupils because they themselves do not totally embrace the ethos and culture of the school.

SECTION 3: ENCOURAGEMENT AND PRAISE

QUESTION 9: *Do you get praised for your work?*

55% (the highest of all responses in category 1) agreed that they get positive comments on work.

QUESTION 10: *Do you get praised for good behaviour and attitude to lessons?*

The highest response is in category 3 (sometimes). Praise is not considered to be consistent and 27% responded that they have never received any praise for good behaviour in class.

QUESTION 11: *Are your coursework and homework assignments marked?*

55% of the respondents agree that it is important for them to have their work marked on a regular basis.

QUESTION 12: *Is it important to you to have your work regularly marked?*

The highest response of 41% was given for category 3 (not sure), where respondents did not consider that their views were valued.

QUESTION 13: *When you think about school, what worries do you have?*

The following things caused worries:

GIRLS	BOYS	BOTH
Failing exams/tests Personal safety/bullying Report grades	Teacher's lack of discipline	Homework deadlines Falling behind in lessons Not understanding work

ANALYSIS POINTS

The responses in this section reinforce the values and actions that

comprise the school's culture. It could be interpreted, that receiving praise was the only way in which pupils were able to interact with the espoused supportive culture. However, the reality is that there is a very strict marking policy that extends to the pyramid schools. All staff must adhere to it, thus reinforcing the controlled environment in which all members within the school must operate.

Regarding praise for good behaviour, it very likely only happens on rare occasions. It would appear that the school has very high expectations of behaviour from its pupils. Therefore, if any praise is forthcoming, behaviour and attitude in class has to exceed this unwritten 'standard' to be in receipt of any praise. This reinforces the highly directive culture that exists within this school.

SECTION 4: HEALTH EDUCATION

QUESTION 14: *Do you consider that you receive enough health-related knowledge during your PSHE/HEd lessons?*

73% consider that they get sufficient knowledge about health in Personal and Social Education and Health Education lessons, with 64% agreeing (category 2).

QUESTION 15: *Is there anyone in the school who you would be able to talk to if you had a problem (e.g. personal, relationships, personal)?*

41% are not sure (category 3) and 14% (category 5) would never talk to anyone in school if they had a problem.

ANALYSIS POINTS

The directed environment results in prescriptive health education provision, usually in the form of structured handouts; very little

discussion is encouraged. The pupils do not expect any more than they are told, although there are 27% of individuals who are not having their health anxieties addressed by the current health information provided by the school. If they want to know more, they use other sources. Also, due to the controlling culture, pupils do not feel that they can ask questions.

It would appear that there are low trust relations between the majority of pupils and staff, and between staff. If any trust does exist, it is perceived as coming with “strings attached” which devalues its function; In the opinion of the pupils, well-established staff, who have proved by previous incidents that they can deal with issues in a sensitive manner are deemed to be more trustworthy.

As a way to sum up the “feel” of the school as viewed from the pupil’s point of view, I will now add comments from the focus group interviews, the transcriptions of which are in Appendix 11. They said that the teachers were always “preaching” and disliked the continuous assessment because it was like “doing time” in prison. The Head of Year is “always having a go” and does not treat people fairly. They did not feel that they got “much praise” and because they were seen as a “bad year” which they unanimously thought was wrong because “it is only twelve individuals who cause trouble”, they did “not have a lot of personal choice”.

The most prevalent phrase was “not allowed” and it applied to the behaviour in school, jewellery wearing, uniform, make up, wearing trainers and chewing gum. Teachers “boss you about” and it was apparent that there was very little trust with Class Tutors because they “don’t really know us” They were seen as not being useful if they needed to talk to them about a problem. Teachers were also seen as “picking on you”, but all the group agreed that they “let you go so far, it

makes for a less tense lesson". The playgrounds were "crowded" and not nice places to be.

The pupils liked the opportunities to "work on my own" (e.g. woodwork was mentioned) and felt respected by the teachers when they were asked for an opinion. The biggest issue that has made them feel unvalued is the fact that they were not included in discussions when the school uniform was changed. They appreciate the House System because it "makes us feel part of the school".

The health issues noted by the group were smoking, alcohol and drug use. High numbers of girls smoked, but the comment was made that a "number of parents smoke". Alcohol and drug supplies can be found close to the school, especially heroin and ecstasy, "lots of needles" can be found on one of the walking routes home through a nearby housing estate. In school, one of the recurring issues that was raised was the fact that there was no "privacy in the toilets". The door locks were broken on most of the girl's toilet cubicles and toilet paper was "rationed" because there had been so many instances of the toilets being blocked with new toilet rolls.

The whole group considered that "they knew it all" about health education and were of the opinion "that it would not be useful in ten years' time". They talked about an annual "Health Day" where people came in to give "advice sessions", but it was dismissed by the group except for that it was only "good for free condoms".

5.4.3 SCHOOL C

SECTION 1: REPUTATION OF SCHOOL

QUESTION 1: *Do people think this is a good school to come to?*

The majority of respondents agreed (category 2) that this was a good

school to attend, with the following reasons being given:

Many opportunities publicity	Well equipped	Good local
High examination pass rate	School is not too big	Friendly
Pleasant environment	Good teachers	

QUESTION 2: *Do your parents/guardians attend school meetings during the year?*

The majority (62%) of parents attend meetings.

QUESTION 3: *Is the school clean and tidy (e.g. litter, graffiti, toilets)?*

67% of the respondents did not consider that the school was clean and tidy.

ANALYSIS POINTS

The school still has not perfected its communication methods to parents. The physical environment may have something to do with the response rate. The school occupies a sprawling site because over the years new buildings have been added in the available spaces around the original part. The main issue is that the school has a badly situated main entrance with the reception area located just inside the main door.

The school managers believe that these issues are being addressed, but from the questionnaire responses and Focus Groups comments, it would appear that very little has improved over the recent past.

SECTION 2: DISCIPLINE

QUESTION 4: *Is anti-social behaviour (e.g. bullying, swearing at a teacher, fighting etc) allowed by teachers in your*

school?

69% of respondents agree that teachers do not allow anti-social behaviour in the school. However, 31% consider that some unruly behaviour is going unnoticed during lessons.

QUESTION 5: *Do teachers take any action when school rules are broken?*

Teachers take action when school rules are violated as reported by 85% of respondents.

QUESTION 6: *Do you think the school rules help the reputation of the school?*

The highest response rate was for category 3 (not sure), where 38% did not consider that the school rules assisted the reputation of the school. However, the majority of the responses supported the fact.

QUESTION 7: *When you are not ill, are you ever away when you should be in school?*

Although 56% responded to category 5 (never), 44% would consider bunking off school.

QUESTION 8: *If you are absent without a reason, is action taken by school?*

Less than 50% of respondents agreed that the school would take action if they skipped school; with 33% stating that they were not sure, and 8% reporting that no action would be taken.

ANALYSIS POINTS

The thread that runs through the responses is one of mixed messages. This may be caused by the ambiguous culture that appears to exist within the school, especially at the level between the teachers and the pupils. The majority of the pupils understand that standards of behaviour are expected, and that the reputation of the school relies on this fact.

However, for nearly all the questions in this section, there are about a third of responses that are very reactionary. This would indicate that these individuals have not, and have no intention of embracing the values that the school is attempting to espouse. It is a difficult environment for pupils who need a “subtle steer”, and the physical surroundings are partly responsible, together with the underlying subculture of blame.

During the Focus Group sessions, it was noticeable that able girls were rewarded and encouraged; but average and low-ability boys and girls were not given as much praise and support. It was also mentioned that teachers had their favourites.

SECTION 3: ENCOURAGEMENT AND PRAISE

QUESTION 9: *Do you get praised for your work?*

Less than 50% responded that they get positive comments on work, with 15% reporting that they have never received any comments at all.

QUESTION 10: *Do you get praised for good behaviour and attitude to lessons?*

41% responded that they disagreed with the notion that good behaviour and attitude in class were recognised by teachers.

QUESTION 11: *Are your coursework and homework assignments marked?*

92% agreed that having their work marked regularly was important to them.

QUESTION 12: *Is it important to you to have your work regularly marked?*

In a school that has an active school council, only 29% considered that their views were valued.

QUESTION 13: *When you think about school, what worries do you have?*

These were the issues that pupils worried about most:-

GIRLS	BOYS	COMMON TO BOTH GENDERS
Not enough motivation Tests/examinations Friendships Boredom in lessons Teachers attitudes Teachers who have favourites	Pressure to do well Fear of failing Not getting a job Stress	Deadlines for coursework Amount of homework Bullying

ANALYSIS POINTS

The responses reinforce the ambiguity that exists within the school's culture. Management considers that all the pupils receive praise and have the opportunity to air their views if they so wish. They also have a well-established School Council. However, these results suggest that pupils do not know how to relay their views and opinions.

It is important to the pupils that they have their work marked regularly. It is the only way that they feel they get overt recognition for their efforts. There is an elaborate rewards system in the school, which generates a lot of extra paperwork. From the responses it could be interpreted that there is a conflict between what the pupils consider is deserving of a reward and what the staff see as a deserving case. This again can be related to the lack of adequate internal communication as staff are seen to be inconsistent with both the reward and sanction systems. The physical environment may contribute to these sorts of issues.

The school takes great pains to recognise the talents and achievements of each individual that are not necessarily purely academic. Therefore, negative responses to the questions on praise, may be from those individuals who fall into this category. Praise may be transmitted in other ways, but because of the ambiguity that exists within the school, the pupils probably do not recognise it when it happens!

SECTION 4: HEALTH EDUCATION

QUESTION 14: *Do you consider that you receive enough health-related knowledge during your PSHE/HEd lessons?*

36% of respondents agree that they receive enough health information in Personal and Social Education/ Health Education lessons. 13% only disagreed.

QUESTION 15: *Is there anyone in the school who you would be able to talk to if you had a problem (e.g. personal, relationships, personal)?*

56% considered that there is someone in school to whom they could talk if they had a problem.

ANALYSIS POINTS

The quantity of Health Education information is generally increased for those pupils doing the GNVQ in Health and Social Care courses. There is a slot (the tutorial period) once a week when discretionary health information can be taught. More often than not, the time is devoted to other issues, which are usually administrative. The school has worked hard to provide a confidential service for pupils to use if they have problems. It would appear that the ambiguous culture is contributing to the confusion reflected in these results.

The focus group sessions revealed that in the pupils' opinions the majority of teachers were not too strict and only "chased" them for work because they wanted "us to do well". Those teachers who were seen to be too strict were still "approachable" and could do with "lightening up".

It was stated that "if you're labelled you are always picked on", although they did acknowledge that there was an atmosphere of mutual respect and fair treatment. Most of the pupils liked being at the school and "if we like the teacher, then we like the subject". They had all started the school with friends from the Primary school, so "there was a good atmosphere in classes" and that "school was fun". They liked being in control of what they did and having their teacher's trust was very important to them. As part of this they all had a good grasp of the rules and expectations that applied to them as individuals and were at pains not to damage their "responsibilities" towards friends, teachers and the school.

Regarding health issues, the whole group stated that drugs were a major lifestyle issue because there was a "drug culture" within the town close to the school. They were all aware of who were the local dealers. Smoking was very rife in school, as was the peer pressure not to smoke. You were seen as being "cool" if you were friends with

someone from the “smoking group”. Friendships were important to them, and all the girls agreed that having friends who were boys was more important than having a boyfriend. They talked about the importance of exercise and the problems that alcohol leads to and most of the group experienced stress and anxiety about examination and the amount of nightly homework.

Without exception they thought that the rules were “boring and petty” especially the one about having a “logo on a coat”. They really disliked it when teachers “compared them” to their siblings and “not being allowed out of school at lunch time”.

5.4.4 SCHOOL H

SECTION 1: REPUTATION OF THE SCHOOL

QUESTION 1: *Do people think this is a good school to come to?*

In terms of marketing itself to parents, the school has carried this out most successfully, because it had the highest response rate in category 1, in that it was considered that this is a good school to attend. Reasons for this include:

Friendly standards	Welcoming	High teaching
GCSE subject choices record	No bullying	Good academic
Good facilities big	Music facilities	School is not too
Lunchtime activities teachers	Smart uniform	Pupils respect

QUESTION 2: *Do your parents/guardians attend school meetings during the year?*

Fewer (40%) of the parents attend meetings. However, from the Ofsted evidence, attendance is not due to the fact that the parents are disinterested. Parents appear to trust the school to deliver what it promises, and visit individual teachers if there is a specific problem.

QUESTION 3: *Is the school clean and tidy (e.g. litter, graffiti, toilets)?*

The majority of respondents considered that the school was clean and tidy. It would appear that the students and their parents/carers pay attention to what happens within the school's environment and are in 'agreement' with the espoused ethos.

ANALYSIS POINTS

Each person has a different perception of cleanliness – therefore, the question could be considered superfluous. However, the school's ethos has the same expectation of everyone, so there is more likelihood that the whole school community will comply with the values.

SECTION 2: DISCIPLINE

QUESTION 4: *Is anti-social behaviour (e.g. bullying, swearing at a teacher, fighting etc) allowed by teachers in your school?*

The codes of behaviour and discipline are understood by the students. They know that transgression of any of the school rules, will not be tolerated.

QUESTION 5: *Do teachers take any action when school rules are broken?*

The majority of respondents reported that staff would take appropriate

action if rules were broken.

QUESTION 6: *Do you think the school rules help the reputation of the school?*

93% of respondents agreed that the rules are a contributory factor to the reputation of the school. 22% strongly agreed.

QUESTION 7: *When you are not ill, are you ever away when you should be in school?*

The majority of respondents would never consider bunking off school.

QUESTION 8: *If you are absent without a reason, is action taken by school?*

63% of respondents agreed that action is taken by the school if they skip school.

ANALYSIS POINTS

The school's culture appears to be widely understood and embraced by pupils and staff alike. The codes of conduct and rules have become deeply embedded in daily practice. The school's rules are positively linked to the ethos because it is what the school's life is based on. Therefore, pupils know what is expected of them, and the majority respect these expectations.

This culture encourages a genuine trust to develop between the staff and the pupils, so sanctions appear to be used to deter persistent unauthorised absenteeism. Occasional bouts of truancy are not dealt with harshly.

Within this school, there exists a 'blame' sub-culture that was mentioned during the focus groups. This would suggest that acceptable standards of behaviour are "policed" by the pupils themselves. Peer

influences may be responsible for the high standards, as the “influencers” have embraced the culture and will not tolerate it being abused.

SECTION 3: ENCOURAGEMENT AND PRAISE

QUESTION 9: *Do you get praised for your work?*

45% agreed that they receive positive comments on their work, with 22% stating that they receive no comments of any sort.

QUESTION 10: *Do you get praised for good behaviour and attitude to lessons?*

Three-quarters of the respondents agreed that good behaviour and attitude in class is praised.

QUESTION 11: *Are your coursework and homework assignments marked?*

Only 4% of respondents disagreed that regularly marked work was important to them.

QUESTION 12: *Is it important to you to have your work regularly marked?*

Nearly one-quarter of respondents considered that staff did not value their views.

QUESTION 13: *When you think about school, what worries do you have?*

The following things caused the most worries:

GIRLS	BOYS	COMMON TO BOTH GENDERS
Missing the bus and being late Oral examinations Not understanding the work Stress	Bad reports Quantity of homework Missing lessons due to music Spelling	Bullying Getting homework done Examinations Coursework marks Deadlines for assignments Getting blamed for something Friendship issues Revision Teachers attitudes

ANALYSIS POINTS

The responses reflect the supportive and inclusive culture that exists throughout the school. However, because this school has high academic expectations of its pupils, some of the negative responses may be from low achievers. Although they are not excluded, they do not feel as valued as some of their more able peers.

As the staff are attuned to the culture, praise could well be an integral part of the ethos; therefore, Questions 9, 10 and to some extent 12, may be superfluous. There is an active School Council who is responsible for acting as a link between the Head, SMT and the pupil population. Feedback during the focus groups supported the fact that the role works within the school.

SECTION 4: HEALTH EDUCATION

QUESTION 14: *Do you consider that you receive enough health-*

related knowledge during your PSHE/HEd lessons?

64% consider that they receive sufficient Health Education knowledge, with 19% indicating that they were not satisfied with the quantity of information that they were given.

QUESTION 15: *Is there anyone in the school who you would be able to talk to if you had a problem (e.g. personal, relationships, personal)?*

Taking the top three answer categories together, 81% consider that there is someone in school to whom they could talk to about private and personal problems.

ANALYSIS POINTS

The school has established a Health Clinic that is serviced by a number of external agencies and medical professionals. It is a confidential service; and although the majority of respondents are aware of its existence, not everyone uses the services provided.

The focus group sessions revealed that the clinic is located in a room that can only be accessed by one route; therefore, if individuals are seen in that particular corridor, everyone knows where they are going! It is not discrete enough and the main concern is that it cannot possibly ensure confidentiality because both peers and staff can see who is attending by virtue of its position. In an otherwise open/transparent culture, this could be interpreted as a subtle means of control.

Postscript: One script was negative in all its responses. It was from a boy, and although it was an irritation (in terms of my results) it has been included as part of the data. Perhaps, on the part of the pupil, it was a way of registering his dissatisfaction with the enforced culture. There may not be any other way to retaliate in such a forceful manner.

5.4.5 School W

There had been no returned questionnaires from this school, but I was able to carry out focus group sessions with Year 10. Teachers were seen as being very strict and “always keeping an eye on us”. However, at the same time they felt there was a balance as they were “all treated the same”. There were mixed views about keeping the same Form Tutor from Year 7 to Year 11, although if they had a problem they considered that “teachers have time for you”.

There were few instances of bullying within the school. If there were, or that “you knew you’d done something wrong, you know there is a penalty and it is applied consistently, whoever you are”. They especially liked the fact that the Head recognised “achievement and good behaviour”. He wants to “improve the school’s reputation” and the majority of the pupils are positively supporting this endeavour. They were also keen to represent the school in either “the band or football”. Lunchtimes and breaks were of particular importance to this group of pupils because “you can let your hair down and have a laugh and do what you like” and “have a good choice of meal at lunch”.

They considered that the “coloured slip” system for sanctions was over used by teachers. “You are given a ‘purple slip’ for wrong uniform”; most of the girls in the group had received these because “they don’t want to look the same”. They wear the uniform colours but not in the intended style. “You get a ‘yellow slip’ for lateness, which ends up as detention if you are late more than once in a week” and “when you get suspended, it’s for four days”.

As a group, they feel closely monitored and tightly “controlled” all the time. They find it “very stressful” when work has to be handed in the

day after it is set. The other thing they find difficult is if they came to the school without friends from the Primary school, "it is very hard to come to school on your own" and they did not like the fact that the vandalised toilets were "not going to be repaired quickly".

Health education topics that they thought were "important" were "stranger danger" because the school was close to the estate and information about smoking and alcohol. A number of the group were in "steady relationships", but they said that they "get jipped (teased) in school". They were aware (and I got the distinct feeling they were slightly bored) of the "safe sex" messages. A number of the group knew of "teenage mums" who had attended the school, and school was always giving the girls talks about "think before you do anything" and "don't be pushed into anything, do it in your own time". They had heard the "talk" so many times. Drugs issues that happened in school time "always involved the police". Friendships are "very important" to them and most stress is caused when the friendships go through difficult patches. "Having good mates helps you survive the day".

Recently the school changed their school meal contractor and the result was met with mixed feelings. There were more "healthy options" on the menu, with "chips now only being served once a week". What they weren't happy about was the fact that chips were now not on every Thursday, "but different days of different weeks". This didn't seem too much of a hardship for a couple of the boys because in Year 11 they were allowed to go out at lunchtime and could choose what to buy.

ANALYSIS POINT

What became apparent from all these focus groups is that the pupils want to be treated fairly, have an opinion that counts and have stable friendships. Underlying these issues there is the influence of the "hidden curriculum" of which they are all subtly aware. They know from

the ways in which they are treated by some of the teachers that some of the cultural messages are interpreted in the way that suits different staff members.

5.5 Appraisal of the Results

The information that resulted from the questionnaires can be divided into 3 main areas : School culture, Health Education and Pedagogic issues. I will explore these because the contents are bringing me closer to identifying each school's modality for these issues.

The focus groups revealed that the teachers and pupils are "helpful" towards each other and they have the pupils' interests at heart. They are "allowed" to mistakes because "they want you to learn by finding out". The majority of the group considered that they are treated fairly because "teachers will listen to both sides" and are "not too quick to judge". Older teachers are helpful and supportive, and some are a "good laugh" and "bring out the best in you". Some of the group did mention that if you were "labelled", the teachers were inclined to pick on you. Although the teachers wanted them to achieve, they all said that they "don't get much praise".

They all liked being at the school, mostly because it is seen as a good school to attend, "lots of positive things are said about the school". The "nice atmosphere of the school" and "not much bullying" were important to them together with the importance attributed to their friends, who they also see outside school. As in the past, "they will probably keep in touch" when they have left, as older siblings have done with their friends.

The main rule that is ingrained is the "uniform" rule; the school is "very strict about uniform; no trainers, must wear black shoes and wear no

coats in doors". You need a "uniform pass" if for some "reason you aren't wearing correct shoes". Smoking is "totally banned" as is chewing gum. Exclusions don't happen very often and "without fail, detentions are given if homework is not done or you are late". For poor behaviour during the day you get sent to the "isolation room".

The biggest issue for them as a Year was that there was too much homework "an average of 3 hours each night and 5 hours at the weekends" and "safety of personal belongings in the lockers". Also, they sometimes felt that the year was a scapegoat for issues and were "blamed for things they hadn't done".

5.6 School Culture

Many issues have an impact on school culture. As a starting point, the work done by MacBeath and Myers (1999) was used and incorporated into the questionnaires to the Year 10 pupils and the staff (see Appendix 2). From this list, 3 areas were highlighted for the pupil survey; with the addition of number 4. They are:

1. Reputation of the school
2. Discipline
3. Encouragement and Praise
4. Health Education

Numbers 1 – 3 were identified as having a big impact on the life of young people. This was supported by the Focus Group work. Issue 1 is of more importance to parents and young people who have already identified their life-goals. Issues 2 and 3 had the most effect on their life in school and the usefulness of Issue 4 would become more apparent to them as they go through life.

The ethos of an establishment does have a profound impact on the perceived culture that exists within any organisation – and schools are no exception. If the staff do not completely embrace the values that are espoused, then mixed messages are transmitted to the pupils. This

was evident in Schools X and C. When some staff embrace the cultural values and others do not, then major challenges arise for the managers. This was very obvious in School X.

In School X, the cultural values are in the process of being changed as a result of the recent arrival of the new Head. The prevailing culture (that was very well-established) is not proving easy to alter as quickly as the Head and Governors had anticipated; and some of the internal issues that exist could be as a result of management trying to implement the changes too fast. Staff, who already feel threatened, are having new ideas imposed upon them – and consequently are reacting in ways that are not helpful to the vision of the Head.

Therefore, the pupils are on the receiving-end of teachers who are worried about their short-term futures. They have become demotivated as a consequence of all the strategic changes to which they are being expected to conform. They have had minimum consultation and are either not complying or are leaving. The environment in which the pupils are learning is one of fear and control.

When a high trust culture exists, as in School H, it would appear that the fundamental values of the ethos have been well communicated and thoroughly integrated into the culture which is comprehended by all the stakeholders. Although low achievers are supported within the school, it may be that some staff do not consider that there is a need to value these pupils as highly as the more able and gifted people. The focus group interviews highlighted this fact.

Where the values and beliefs are not clearly communicated to the stakeholders, a situation characterised by ambiguity exists, as discerned in School C. Everyone associated with the school recognises the importance of the ethos. However, it appears that there are pockets

of dissimilar aims and values in different departments, resulting in the culture still being misinterpreted and as yet, not fully established in a cohesive way throughout the school. This would account for the confusion that was expressed by the majority of staff respondents in a number of the questions.

In addition to the role a new personality (a new deputy head) in a position of power plays in the establishment of a school's culture; it may be that the physical environment also has a significant effect. Subtle messages, that can be interpreted in as many different ways as there are pupils, can be conveyed, and have a lasting impact. School C has a large site that was built in the 1960s "concrete block" style. It is a difficult building to improve on from an aesthetic point of view and this may have been a contributory factor when the school was perceived as not being clean.

The results from the content analysis exercise on the staff questionnaire yielded some very pertinent vocabulary concerning the teacher's views of their school's ethos and culture. By grouping words I have identified five distinct types of culture existing in the schools that I have named as:

1. The espoused public culture
2. The overt professional culture
3. The overt pedagogic culture
4. The overt teacher culture
5. The actual prevailing culture

If I were to place these on an "Onion" model (see Figure 1.1) then the actual prevailing culture would be situated at the core, with the others radiating out in the order of 4, 3, 2, 1, with 1 being on the outside edge. Numbers 1 – 4 reflected similar words to the "Ofsted-speak" vocabulary.

In my experience, this vocabulary frequently arises when schools are preparing and undergoing a school inspection. The identical words that occurred across all the schools are for teaching and learning, respect, support, caring and achievement. Table 5 contains the words that were similar for each school:

TABLE 5.1: Similar Words

SCHOOL X		SCHOOL C	
Forward thinking Interesting Ofsted Professional Order Hardworking Demanding Purposeful Happy confusing High expectations	Disciplined Learning Respect Support Friendly Success Caring Achievement Pressured	Forward looking Professional Ordered Over-worked Demanding Purposeful Happy Academic Positive Friendly Confused	Dedicated Welcoming Helpful Interested Calm Tolerant High expectations Thoughtful Relaxed Disciplined Good teaching Respect Supportive Success Caring Achievement Pressured
SCHOOL H		SCHOOL W	
Forward looking Standards Professional Well-ordered Hardwork Demanding Purposeful Happy Academic Lively Positive Dedicated Welcoming Co-operative Partnership Helpful	Calm Good manners Thoughtful Concerned Safety Relaxed Teaching and learning Respect Support Friendly Success Caring Achievement Encouragement	Standards Lively Friendly Co-operative Partnership Tolerant Good manners Thoughtful Concerned Safety Teaching and learning Respect Support Friendly Success	Caring Achievement Pressured

Had there been more questionnaires returned from School W, I think there would have been some more duplicated words. There are some remarkable similarities to the responses demonstrating that at the

boundaries of the school (i.e. those that are the most public), this type of vocabulary is what is expected of schools. The next table gives the words that were different for school.

TABLE 5.2: The different words

SCHOOL X		SCHOOL C	
Structure	Rushed	Moral	Willing
Corporate	Impatient	Spiritual	Evaluating
Finances	Chimera	Pastoral	Improvement
Public image	Inflexible	Pupil-centred	Consistent
Personalities	In absentia	Firm	Fair
Targets	Fear	Disorganised	Influential
Parental control	Litter/smoking	Contradictory	Expanding
Pupil control	Non-existent	Rewarding	Mellow
Impressive	Patchy	Performance	Social
Industrious	Changing	Opportunity	Established
Optimistic	Frustrating	Innovative	Added-value
Diverse	Elusive	Comprehensive	Responsive
Striving	Unhappy	Well-managed	Cohesive
Motivating	Struggling	Accommodating	Experienced
Challenging	Poor behaviour	Productive	Belonging
Humour	Poor discipline	Efficient	Teamwork
Quality	Misunderstood	Energetic	Participative
Organised	Inconsistency	Accessible	Community
Progress	Demoralised	Workmanlike	Equality
Inventiveness	Misleading	Keen	Rights
Non-discriminating	Missing	Polite	Responsibilities
Stressed	Divided	Quiet	
SCHOOL H		SCHOOL W	
Relationships	Cheerfulness	Family	
Collaborative	Comfortable	Understanding	
Sensible	Practical	Persistent	
Individual	Approachable		
Whole-person	Non-threatening		
Oneness	Potential		
Sharing	Developmental		
Committed	Good		
Communication	Extra-curricular		
People-orientated	Canny		
Historical	Active		
Good-natured	Creative		
Beautiful	Enthusiastic		
Kind	Ambitious		
Enjoyable	Facile		
Tranquil	Fun		
Nurturing	Enterprising		
Competent	Pride		
Diverse	Open		
Realistic	Catholic		
Facetious	Associating		
Effort	Enabling		
Discerning	Responsible		

When I was collating these words the type of adjectives that were being used, especially for School X, struck me as projecting the fact that the

school was difficult to work in. These words resonated with the pupil comments, giving me the impression that when I had been in the school I only saw the “public persona” that the Head wanted to be projected.

Within the sphere of organisational culture, leadership and management skills are regarded as being highly important and pivotal to the success of the organisation. It is not within the scope of this thesis to look at these areas in any depth. However, I will report on what the staff in each school expected regarding the requirements for a successful culture. The highest response rate for question 6 (which asked how important the list of statements were in developing a school culture and the school ethos) pertained to leadership and “shared vision and targets”.

In Table 5.3, the top five and bottom three responses for this question are shown below:

SCHOOLS	Top 5 responses	Bottom 3 responses
SCHOOL X	1. Shared vision and targets 2. High expectations of pupils 3. Purposeful teaching 4= +ve learning environment 4= +ve home-school partnership	13. Staff participating and influencing planning, development and evaluation 14. A communal staffroom 15. A strict dress code for pupils and staff
SCHOOL C	1. Shared vision and targets 2. Professional leadership from the Head 3. Collaborative/teamwork with colleagues 4. +ve learning environment 5. Purposeful teaching	13. An awareness of the school as a learning organisation 14. A communal staffroom 15. A strict dress code for pupils and staff
SCHOOL H	1= Shared vision and targets +ve learning environment 1= Professional leadership from the Head 3. +ve learning environment 4. Collaborative/teamwork with colleagues 5. +ve reinforcement	13. Managerial positions between sections having clearly defined responsibilities and authority 14. Awareness of pupil's rights and responsibilities 15. A strict dress code for pupils and staff
SCHOOL W	There were insufficient responses to reach a conclusion, but the comments with more than one comment were: Awareness of pupil's rights and responsibilities Strict dress code for pupils and staff Communal staffroom	

These results are extremely similar for both the top and bottom ranked words and are supporting the other findings. In School H the fact that the statement of positive reinforcement was mentioned, ties in with the pupil's comments in the focus groups. School X highlighted two telling statements, one being the high expectations of the pupils and the second about positive home-school partnerships. The first statement concurs with the Head's vision that he wants the school to be known for its academic achievements and secondly, the home-school partnerships are important to the school to maintain reasonable levels of control over truancy levels and poor behaviour – something that was mentioned in the focus groups.

TABLE 5.4: Main issues arising from the questionnaire responses

<p>SCHOOL X</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corporate (SMT) versus Organisational culture • A big gap exists between the SMT and those at operational level (i.e. staff) regarding the interpretation and understanding of the corporate values and aims. • Very directive and controlled culture • Mix socio-economic community • In the process of a culture change. The school is aiming to improve its image and attract higher ability pupils • Changes are being implemented too fast • High staff turnover • Very low trust at all levels of the school • Very controlled environment, both for staff and pupils 	<p>SCHOOL C</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both internal and external communication methods are a cause for concern • Physical environment is not helpful to the general caring culture that exists • Main culture that is identifiable is that of ambiguity • All achievements are valued, but more is made of the high achiever and middle ability pupils • Low ability and special needs are rewarded but the merit system is complicated and the pupils do not appear to give it much credence • Values and beliefs are not made clear, thus resulting in confusion amongst pupils.
<p>SCHOOL H</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High trust environment • Ethos has been successfully woven into the fabric of the school's culture because it has been well-established for many years • Academic achievement is valued and praised • Destinations of pupils are valued as this is seen as a reflection of the school's ethos • Subtle hidden agenda on part of the SMT as a professional and middle power/control thing, in that a 'watchful' eye is kept on staff to ensure that the aims and values of the school continue unchallenged. 	<p>SCHOOL W</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture is one of confusion • Numerous barriers and regulations exist • Mixed messages as no-one really knows what is going on from one day to the next • Staff are older, and execute the 'containment strategy' of teaching style • The catchment area is poor and the parents are mostly disinterested in education • Many pupils have low aspirations for the future, so their attainment levels are not very high.

From this data, it can be concluded that schools that provide an open and trusting culture, are more likely to get acceptance of the values to which it aspires, as in Schools H and C. It would also appear that in this type of environment pupils are more accepting of the rules and regulations that are generated. They are aware of the reasons why things are done in the way they are, and it is important to them to support those aims, but more importantly, to be seen to be supporting them.

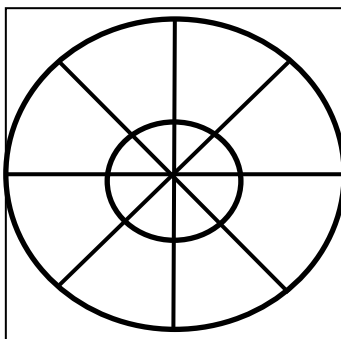
Where an individual feels the need to buck the trend, it could be due to them not fitting in with the prevailing culture. For example, in School H, a number of pupils are taken into Year 10 who have been excluded from other High Schools in the area. From focus group feedback, the majority of the individuals taken in have no intention of fitting in with this culture or any other.

School culture can only be successful if there is clear communication of the organisation's values and intentions. The period of time that the ethos has been embedded within the organisation will also have a profound effect on the ways in which these values and beliefs are relayed to the whole school community.

I will now place each school with in Handy's (1985) typology of organisational culture that were based on power, roles, tasks and the person.

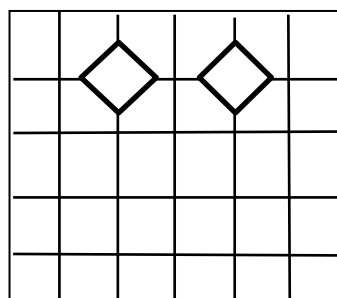
SCHOOL X... is undergoing a major cultural change that may be happening too fast. There is a high turnover of staff and frequent absenteeism, both of which would support this notion. This is a *POWER CULTURE* drawn as a web because the power base is at the centre of the organisation

e.g.



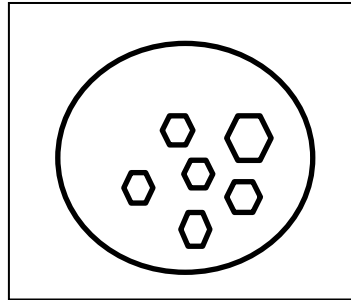
SCHOOL C... has established its values and beliefs, but the way in which these are being communicated to all the stakeholders is still evolving. In the meantime ambiguity exists on a daily basis. This may have arisen because the school has a good professional relationship with the pupil's families and the communication channels have become lax. This is a *TASK CULTURE* drawn as a net where staff collaborate on projects, but there exists some ambiguity in the culture so some projects do not get completed.

e.g.



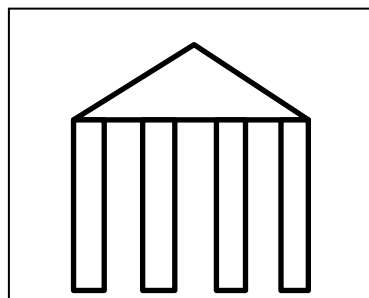
SCHOOL H... has a long established history, and the values and beliefs have been built on the original ethos, which has contributed to the schools survival. Staff and pupils become encultured relatively quickly after joining the school. This is a *PERSON CULTURE* where the needs of the individual are put before those of the organisation.

e.g.



SCHOOL W... has an established culture of resistance, that is identifiable at 2 distinct levels: Between the staff and SMT and between the majority of pupils and staff. This is a *ROLE CULTURE* which is represented by a Greek Temple where there are formal and bureaucratic structures, but in this case the communication methods are undermining the effectiveness of the school.

e.g.



5.6.1 Health Education

In a school that has an inclusive and open culture, values will include having respect for oneself. As health (in its broadest sense) is about well-being, then health education will be embraced. The overt caring and supportive culture will enhance and reinforce the value of health education.

Where the culture is very controlled, to the point of being threatening, aggressive or hostile; the health education provision is very prescriptive. This is the situation in School X. Outside agency involvement is deterred (or made very difficult to arrange), and health education information is set out in a series of uninspiring, dated hand-outs. This does mean that all staff impart the same information during the tutor period; but it does not encourage open discussion about the topics that are covered or the issues that are raised.

When I observed the HEd lesson, the teacher directed it, talked and insisted the pupils worked in silence during pair work. Pupils had an air of resignation and the disengaged members of the class sat quietly and looked as if they were working. The vital information that the pupils might need is gathered from their own resources, either their peers, media sources or a very trusted member of staff.

In School H, the health education programme is an integral part of the curriculum. It is cross-curricular and embedded in both KS3 and KS4. Pupils are encouraged to participate in the programme, and this engenders a “collaborative approach to health”. This has been the situation for many years, with a recent addition being the provision of a confidential health clinic. Professional staff from the statutory and voluntary agencies are welcomed and their contributions are valued as part of the negotiated programme of health that the school provides. The HEd lesson that I observed was a group discussion where the

teacher acted as a facilitator. He had provided some thought-provoking “trigger” material and the pupils really got involved with the task and any talk was lesson focussed.

In School C, only 36% of the Year 10 respondents considered that they received enough health knowledge. The health information is incorporated into the weekly tutor period that is timetabled across the whole school. If it is not openly labelled as “health”, it may be that individuals do not realise that it comes under the health education banner. The findings for this school actually reflect the ambiguous nature of the culture. If HEd was taught as a discrete slot within the tutor period (as in the case of School H), then more respondents may have identified that they were receiving adequate health knowledge. However, the class that I saw were doing group presentations about “alcohol and the law” and most of them were interested and participating. The content of the presentations was accurate and most of them gave balanced views and arguments.

In School W, health education is taught on a spiral curriculum model. This is recognised as being the best method to teach the subject because over a period of time, previous knowledge is continually built on with “age and stage” appropriate messages each time a topic is revisited. The rationale for this method is that by the time an individual leaves the school they will have been given all the relevant health facts that should benefit them when deciding future lifestyle choices.

However, it was not apparent that the health information goes beyond the basics that were first taught in Years 7 and 8. For the majority of Year 10, little value was given to the information, because “they had heard it all before” and spent most of the PSHE lessons doing other things. As this session is presided over by the form tutor, they are not too concerned, provided that the group is gainfully occupied and staying

in the classroom and not causing too much noise. Although I did not receive any completed questionnaires from this school, I was able to observe a HEd lesson that was about sexual health. It was noisy and chaotic, with pupils talking over each other and using extremely sexist language. The form tutor was a PE teacher and established member of staff, but from the outset he looked uncomfortable. As the lesson continued he just gave up trying to discuss the topic with the pupils and gave them work-sheets to complete.

Within Bernstein's categories of classification and framing, it would appear that the more open and inclusive the school's culture, the weaker the classification and framing, and health issues are presented within subjects other than the designated Tutor period. When the culture is very controlled, then both the classification and framing aspects are very strong, which may account for a high response rate from School X because the health issues are contained in an identifiable slot where structured handouts are used for nearly every lesson.

TABLE 5.5: Response rates for Questions 14 and 15

QUESTION	SCHOOL X	SCHOOL C	SCHOOL H	SCHOOL W
Do you consider that you receive enough knowledge about health during your PSHE/HEd lesson?	72%	36%	64%	No figures
Is there anyone in school you could talk to if you had a problem?	45%	56%	57%	No figures

Therefore, regarding their self-reported opinions about whether they receive enough health information, I can place the 4 study schools on a

continuum as follows:

SCHOOL W SCHOOL C SCHOOL H SCHOOL X
WEAK culture-----STRONG culture

The importance and success of programmes of health education appear to be directly related to the prevailing culture that exists in the school. Where the subject is taught and embedded, it is a natural addition to the curriculum and is valued as a relevant addition by staff and pupils. Where it is a “bolt-on” activity or even a “drop-down” day, the culture appears only to tolerate its existence, provided there are no other priorities. Consequently, because it is disembodied from the curriculum, health education lessons will be quickly lost in these schools, particularly in School X because the insulation is so strong between the subject knowledge areas.

5.6.2 Pedagogic Practices

The data has been described from an ethnographic viewpoint and now I will explain them in terms of Bernstein’s codes of Classification and Framing and Instructional and Regulative relationships. In the first instance, by using the concept of Classification (C) and Framing (F), I have been able to identify the key areas from the pupil questionnaire, lesson observations and focus groups. This has given me a code for the school’s modality and will enable me to fully answer my research questions. The full explanation of the C and F code content for each school can be found in Appendix 11.

5.6.2.1 SCHOOL X

This is a very high stress environment for both the staff and the pupils and one in which pupils felt constrained by the controlling behaviour of the teachers, who constantly reinforced their position of power and control. The Year 10 pupils felt undervalued and beset by rules and pressure from staff. The C and F codes are:

<u>School Culture</u>	C/F++
Rules and regulations	F++
Praise and rewards (<i>Regulative</i>)	F+
Classroom behaviour	F+
Length of school week (24hours/10mins)	F+
School uniform enforcement (<i>Regulative</i>)	F++
Pupil's participation	F++
 <u>Health Education lessons (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	 C-/F++
Sequencing	F++
Selection	F++
Pacing	F+
Category of pupil	F+
 <u>Teaching and Learning (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	 C+/F++
Horizontal	C++
Vertical	C++
Planning Health Education	C-
Pedagogy	C+
 <u>Pupil view of school</u>	 C+/F++
Low ability rebel and large majority feel that they have no power or control; it is all done "to them".	

Applying Bernstein's framework of regulative and instructional discourses to the schools, it appears that the pedagogic discourse, is more regulative than instructional and that pedagogic practice is visible, with pastoral care and HEd issues being addressed in terms of social control. The absence rates are low, but the positive responses regarding the reputation of the school and examination results are both less than 50%.

These findings can be written as

School Culture	$I = C_{++}/C_{++}$ $R = F_{++}^{(f)}/F_{+}^{(e)}$
Health Education	$I = C_{++}/C_{++}$ $R = F_{+}^{(f)}/F_{+}^{(e)}$
Teaching and Learning	$I = C_{+}/C_{++}$ $R = F_{++}^{(f)}/F_{++}^{(e)}$
Leadership Style Strategic and autocratic	C_{++} F_{+}

5.6.2.2 SCHOOL C:

The school has overt “behaviour boundaries that pupils have taken on, they want to do well and like being at the school”. Teachers are not seen as being too strict, but the school rules are regarded as being “petty”. The examination results are good and absence rates are low because the pupils like being at school. There are a mixed socio-economic group of pupils and the majority of parents value academic success of their children.

The C and F codes are:

<u>School Culture</u>	C--/F-
Rules and regulations	F+
Praise and rewards (<i>Regulative</i>)	F-
Classroom behaviour	F-
Length of school week (25 hours)	F-
School uniform enforcement (<i>Regulative</i>)	F+
Pupil's participation	F-
<u>Health Education lessons (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	C/F+
Sequencing	F-
Selection	F-
Pacing	F-
Category of pupil	F+
<u>Teaching and Learning (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	C-/F-
Horizontal	C+
Vertical	C+
Planning Health Education	C-
Pedagogy	C-

Pupil view of the school

C/F-

Through School Council, opinions are voiced and most pupils feel they have quite a lot of power, but little control.

These findings can be written as:

School Culture

$$\frac{I = C-/C-}{R = F-^{(f)}/F^{(e)}}$$

Health Education

$$\frac{I = C-/C-}{R = F+^{(f)}/F+^{(e)}}$$

Teaching and Learning

$$\frac{I = C-/F-}{R = F-^{(f)}/F^{(e)}}$$

Leadership Style

'Laissez-faire', partnership

$$\frac{C}{F}$$

5.6.2.3 SCHOOL H:

Co-operation exists between staff and pupils throughout the school. Teachers have high expectations of the pupils and work with them to enable them to gain good examination results. There are low absence rates, high parental interest and a high positive response to the reputation of the school, and the pedagogic discourse is instructional. This is because the school culture is so strong that the pupils and teachers already understand the regulative discourse. Members of the school have a good grasp of the elaborated codes that underpin the culture. As pupils progress up the school into Year 11 and the Sixth form there is a greater expectation that the pupils will study A levels. The F code becomes stronger as subject areas become more academic and so the knowledge is contained in a more insulated area (Bernstein calls these "singulars") due to the nature and depth of the subject (e.g. Physics and Chemistry in particular).

The C and F codes are:

<u>School Culture</u>	C--/F--
Rules and regulations	F--
Praise and rewards (<i>Regulative</i>)	F+
Classroom behaviour	F--
Length of school week (25 hours/05 mins)	F--
School uniform enforcement (<i>Regulative</i>)	F+
Pupil's participation	F--
 <u>Health Education lessons (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	 C/F--
Sequencing	F--
Selection	F--
Pacing	F--
Category of pupil	F--
 <u>Teaching and Learning (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	 C-/F--
Horizontal	C-
Vertical	C-
Planning Health Education	C-
Pedagogy	C-
 <u>Pupil view of the school</u>	 C-/F--
They feel listened to and can voice opinions which are taken seriously.	
School Council functions well.	

These findings can be written as:

School Culture	$\frac{I = C--/C--}{R = F--^{(i)}/F-^{(e)}}$
Health Education	$\frac{I = C--/C--}{R = F-^{(i)}/F--^{(e)}}$
Teaching and Learning	$\frac{I = C-/C--}{R = F+^{(i)}/F^{(e)}}$
Leadership Style	$\frac{C++}{F}$
Paternalistic; open and liberal	

5.6.2.4 SCHOOL W:

Where there are low examination rates and high absence rates, then the pedagogic discourse is one of regulation. Low expectations, poor

behaviour and disinterest on the part of the parents tend to support this finding.

The C and F codes are:

<u>School Culture</u>	C-/F-
Rules and regulations	F+
Praise and rewards (<i>Regulative</i>)	F++
Classroom behaviour	F+
Length of school week(26 hours/15 mins)	F++
School uniform enforcement (<i>Regulative</i>)	F+
Pupil's participation	F+
<u>Health Education lessons (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	C+/F++
Sequencing	F++
Selection	F++
Pacing	F+
Category of pupil	F+
<u>Teaching and Learning (<i>Instructional</i>)</u>	C+/F+
Horizontal	C+
Vertical	C+
Planning Health Education	C++
Pedagogy	C+
<u>Pupils view of the school</u>	C+/F++
They feel they have no control in what happens and feel isolated as a group.	

These findings can be written as:

School Culture	$\frac{I = C++/C+}{R = F+^{(i)}/F+^{(e)}}$
Health Education	$\frac{I = C++/C++}{R = F+^{(i)}/F++^{(e)}}$
Teaching and Learning	$\frac{I = C+/C++}{R = F++^{(i)}/F+^{(e)}}$
Leadership Style	$\frac{C}{F}$
Partnership and strategic	

Therefore, regarding the prevailing pedagogic discourses that operate in the schools, the trend is shown in Table 5.6: Pedagogic discourse in each school culture with codes

Instructional discourse embedded in regulative discourse	More instructional than regulative	More regulative than instructional	Regulative
H	C	W	X
-----→			
i/r	I/r	i/R	I/R
Instructional becoming more regulative			

5.7 Conclusion

By using a number of methods and theories I have been able to triangulate the results to produce an accurate picture of the school's modality for different aspects of the organisation. I have also given an indication of the leadership style as this has a big impact on the type of culture that exists as while the Heads are in tenure, it will be their vision that directs the functioning of the school within the external requirements (Government policy) and community expectations, part of which are the parents.

The results of the pupil and staff questionnaires produced similar descriptions for their respective schools and the LEA PSHE Advisor was able to recognise each school from the list of statements that I took from the questionnaire responses. The HEd position in each school has also been identified with the context of that organisation and it is very much determined by the strengths of the C and F codes.

I have included a substantial amount of discussion in this chapter

because to have placed some of the comments in Chapter 6 would have truncated the natural development of the narrative. In the next chapter I will discuss the wider implications of the codings.

CHAPTER 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I gave a detailed analysis of how the pupils and teachers viewed their respective schools. From the information that I had collected from each school I have been able to give a full account of the functioning of them as organisations and have paid particular attention to the school culture, the extent of HEd programmes, the pedagogic practices and the leadership and management styles of the Heads and explained them using Bernstein's coding systems.

Some important work has been done using Bernstein's work to address the production, recontextualisation, transmission and acquisition of school knowledge. Domingos (1989) investigated the relationship between achievement in the sciences with social class. She determined that the lower the social class, the lower the achievement in the subject due to the fact that the students could not understand the speech codes that were needed to comprehend the conceptual demand of the science courses. Fontinhas, Morais and Neves (1995) used the concepts of classification and framing to analyse classroom practices in order to determine more pedagogic practices for children.

Daniels (1995) applied Bernstein's and Vygotsky's theories to a study undertaken in school and concluded that apart from specific subject cultures existing, differences between the school and classroom cultures were evident. Daniels et al (1996) undertook a study within English and Danish schools and concluded that pupils in both countries knew the dominant expectations of the school which they internalised and valued. Lamnias and Tsatsaroni (1997) have attempted to analyse the internal structure of educational discourse. They argued that there might be a possible relation between specialised education discourses

and the type of school practices that prevail or are made available to the teachers.

6.2 Areas of Congruence and Dissonance between Staff and Pupils

During the analysis stage of the data, I noticed that there were some areas where there were either congruent or dissonant ideas between the two sets. For each school I have highlighted these areas.

6.2.1 School X

The pupils considered that the culture was very controlling and that the school was intolerant of pupils who were not academic because the Head expected high grades from everyone. The majority of pupils understood the recognition and realisation rules, but where they had a restricted code, some of them became disengaged because they did not understand what was expected of them. I suggest that pupils from this background persistently truant.

They needed to rely on friendship groups to survive the day because the timetable was divided in to tight time units with very little time for breaks and lunch. The only way they could express themselves was by applying very subtle changes to the uniform such as tattered tie ends and tattered jumper cuffs. It was their personal statement and was a well-established sub-culture, together with a “Goth”, sporty and smoking sub-cultures and because the school had a large population they were able to maintain these without catching anyone’s attention.

The teachers appeared to inhabit two worlds within the school, the school’s culture and the subject’s culture and, because of the management and leadership styles these were the ones that were overt and public to the pupils. Teachers were expected to be on top of all

behaviour issues and apply the correct sanction at the right time. However, behind the façade it appears that the hidden culture is one of deep fractures. Staff used words such as “demoralised, misleading, dividing, corporate, finances and structure” on the questionnaire to describe their view of the existing culture, these were the words that were different from the other schools and in my opinion is a description of the real culture. It was also seen as one of low trust and fear and this is probably what the pupils picked up from the teachers behaviour.

The only words that appeared on both the sets of questionnaires were “high expectations and stressful”, which is explained by the school modality code of I/R. Both the instructional and regulative codes are in evidence throughout the school. As a result of this culture, HEd lessons were very tightly planned and the boundaries between subjects were inflexible, so it was not surprising to hear in the focus groups that they thought it was a waste of time. During my HEd lesson observation the teacher led and controlled the time for the whole 50 minute session. The topic was about risk-taking and could have been a really lively lesson, but in this instance it was “pair-work” completing a worksheet in near silence. I estimated that only 50% of the class were engaged in the task and from a lesson management point of view it was a success. However, from a HEd stance it was disappointing and fairly typical of how the subject is taught. HEd had very little value and the whole school “drop-down” day was viewed as a way to get out of normal lessons and pick up free condoms.

Vygotsky’s ZPD is often interpreted as the next linear step in a formal learning situation and it is represented by pre-determined targets and so according to MacBeath and Dempster (2009:13) “it represents the sphere of knowing beyond our current understanding. The stimulus to move beyond what we currently know, or think we know, may come from the scaffolding of teachers but also peers, parents or from own

psychological need to achieve, to know more, to do better". In terms of Vygotsky's ZPD, it will remain closed and no learning will occur as the pupils think they already have the information and are disinclined to know more but also because there is no opportunity to internalise the information and they do not understand the issues in the first place.

6.2.2 School C

There appeared to be a great deal of collaborative working both between staff, staff and pupils and pupils helped each other out. The atmosphere was always buzzing with activity and many of the classrooms had their doors open during lessons. People respected each other and in the pupils case would not talk over classmates in lessons. School uniform was not really an issue and most of the pupils adhered to it, the biggest problem was girls footwear because the heels were too high and staff were worried that they would fall and hurt themselves. At the time of my fieldwork, this was a "hot potato" because the staff respected the fact that pupils wanted to express themselves, but on the other hand, it was a big "health and safety" concern.

The espoused culture is the one that is understood and reflected by both staff and pupils. The staff is aware of pockets of small sub-cultures, but only monitor them from afar because the pupils and teachers have a high-trust working relationship. The words that staff used to describe the school culture included "moral, spiritual, rights and responsibilities, pastoral, community, and equality". The similar words on both sets of questionnaires were "co-operative, friendly, busy and stressful". These were evident everywhere in the school and pupils relished this environment and would do their utmost to maintain the status quo. The modality of the school can be written as code I/r, where the instructional function is stronger than the regulative function.

The HEd lesson that I observed was excellent, with 70% of the group participating in on-line research in preparation for a presentation about alcohol and the law. Most of the pupils listened to their peers presentations, but some of the group opted-out as they “knew all about it”. In this lesson the teacher had brought in some good “trigger” material to start them off on their research and it set the lesson up in a purposeful way that made the pupils want to find out more. When there was chatting, it was about the task. In this environment the recognition and realisation codes were overt and because the majority of the pupils know the elaborated code of speech through their backgrounds they were able to carry out the task with minimum intervention from the teacher. In terms of Vygotsky’s “zone of proximal development”, will be opened and the pupils will make progress.

6.2.3 School H

The elaborated code predominates and pupils understand because they are from more middle-class backgrounds, so recognition and realisation rules are implicitly understood. The pupil and staff questionnaires both mentioned these words “friendly, stressful, challenging, realistic and purposeful”. For the pupils this demonstrates that they like being at the school because they have good working relations with the staff and the school rules are seen to be fair. The modality of the school culture is i/r, where the instructional as regulative discourse is assumed as being understood. The staff described the school culture using these words “relationships, collaborative, sensible, associating, enabling and responsible”. These were part of the espoused culture and were highly visible.

The HEd lesson was about drug use and the teacher had brought in a lot of resources that he shared with the class and invited comments about how successful it was at conveying the health messages. The task was that they were to design a leaflet about the pros and cons of

drug use. The pupils accessed the internet and amassed a lot of information quite quickly, then settled down in groups and compiled the material that they wanted. The elaborated code helped them in this task and enabled them to access a lot of research data, while the role of the teacher was that of “facilitator”. I estimated that 90% of the class were on task throughout the whole lesson and actually finished the work by the end of the session. In this type of learning environment, the ZPD would be opened and the pupils would have made good developmental progress because they were challenged to find the information and the teacher would guide them if he was asked.

6.2.4 School W

The over-riding feature of the school was noise, with pupils talking over each other and shouting from one side of a classroom to the other to attract someone’s attention. I was not sure what it signified, but offer some views that include

- The pupils are not listened to
- Lack of respect for others
- It is what is done at home and is associated with the restricted speech code
- It is associated with low ability and poor behaviour

The school’s cultural values and beliefs do not have much meaning for the majority of the pupils because they do not understand the elaborated speech code used by teachers. In fact they feel quite isolated and think they are treated unfairly most of the time. The culture appeared to be chaotic because communication problems exist at all levels of the school and the code for the it is I/R, where both aspects are used to keep the pupils in check. There are a high number of sanctions that are used daily as a means of social control. The problem is usually triggered by frustration on the part of the pupil because they do not understand the finer points of what they have been asked to do. This leads to the pupil losing their temper and “kicking-off” if someone (i.e. a learning assistant) does not take the time to explain what needs

to be done. Therefore I do not think the realisation and recognition codes are understood in most instances.

The HEd lesson that I observed was equally chaotic and so noisy that the teacher closed the door and started to shout at the group before the lesson had started. It eventually became calmer, but as soon as the teacher explained what was going to be done during the lesson, some members of the group started shouting out slang words for parts of the male and female genitals. The lesson was about sexual health and was part of a programme of work about SRE, but the teacher became so frustrated by the poor behaviour that he just handed out worksheets and told them to get on with them. About 40% of the class carried out the exercise, and throughout the lesson the inappropriate language got worse. The teacher ended up working with the few pupils who were engaged in the task and ignored the others, who just continued conversations about sex and anything else that came into their conversations. I am of the opinion that the restricted code that the majority of the pupils use at home and understand, is not used in school, resulting in communication issues that are serious and the cause of a lot of the poor behaviour.

The ZPD would not be opened in the pupil, so no knowledge is taken on board in these circumstances, even if someone gave them 1:1 assistance to understand the specialised language. I think a large number of the boys were totally switched off education. It was not seen as a valued asset because messages transmitted from home reinforced that view. There were no pupil questionnaires from this school so it is not possible to find any patterns; but what it does emphasise is the chaotic nature of the school^{1/2}

¹ About six months after I had carried out the fieldwork in the school, it was placed in Special Measures after an Ofsted inspection. It was closed completely relatively recently and no longer exists.

² A school is placed in Special Measures when there are a number of areas that need to be improved. The school is monitored by Ofsted and if it does not succeed it will be closed.

In all four schools, the results indicated that the learners are not passive beings: they are aware of how they are treated and where they fit into their particular school system. Some pupils are able to make themselves heard and be listened to, whilst others appear to be swamped by the culture of the school. I think the differences are due to a combination of the following factors

- The social relations within the school and classroom
- The way in which subjects are taught
- Teachers have relevant knowledge and experience of the pupils
- The type of activity
- The expectations that the teacher has of the pupils
- The size of the school population

All these areas need to be considered when taking on the teaching of a PSHEed topic.

6.3 School Modality and Health

The acquisition of health knowledge requires a good range of language skills. Where young people are educated in a school that uses the elaborated code (i.e. the social norms and language that are based on middle class values) they will be better equipped to access a variety of information. This knowledge will enable them to make reasoned and informed choices as they have had the opportunity to research the issue. This mode of behaviour is more likely to occur in a school that is C-/F-, where the elaborated speech codes are embedded in the school culture and used on a daily basis. The school will be part of, and reflect similar cultural values from the external community and will have parental support as they have the same values and beliefs.

As a consequence of this the parents will support their children and reinforce the school's message, so making their health education more meaningful as it is taught in a helpful and supportive environment. The health information will be available and make sense to them because they have better awareness of the health language that is used and will be able to apply it to their particular circumstances.

Pupils who have only been exposed to the restricted codes of language will find it more difficult to recognise relevant health information. If they are able to access it, the information may be too simplified and so its relevance to their situation could be missed. School will most probably exhibit C+/F+ and be more instructional in its practice. This is mostly to do with control where the pupil's behaviour is challenging. If health education exists in school it will be as a discrete subject, with few links to other curriculum areas. Health will be seen and learnt as a detached phenomenon and will add to the pupil's confusion when trying to comprehend a personal health issue. This may not become apparent until after they have left school, and are trying to gather facts about a health problem.

As health has been taught in isolation from the rest of the curriculum, the individual will find the information (if found!) confusing due to the references made to other areas, e.g. healthy diet and exercise; relationships and sexually transmitted infections; pregnancy, healthy diet, smoking and drinking issues. Health is an holistic concept. One health episode should not be considered independently from the rest of the body. Information is only of help when an individual can fully understand what the issues are and how it affects their wellbeing (e.g. mental health and depression).

Below, I propose that the cultures that can be identified in the research schools (and possibly applied to others as well) are shown in the table

TABLE 6.1: Health Culture Types

<p>HEALTH-ADOPTIVE</p> <p>Where classification and framing are very weak</p> <p>(C-/F--)</p>	<p>HEALTH-EMBRACING</p> <p>Where classification and framing are tending towards weakness</p> <p>(C-/F-)</p>
<p>HEALTH-TOLERANT</p> <p>Where classification and framing are not equal</p> <p>(C+/F-)</p>	<p>HEALTH-DISMISSIVE</p> <p>Where classification and framing are strong</p> <p>(C+/F+)</p>

HEALTH-ADOPTING CULTURE

Where health education programmes have been successfully integrated into the current statutory provision, the schools exhibit a willingness to include health and social issues in a variety of subject areas. The School Council is active and the SMT encourage outside agencies to contribute their expertise to enrich and add breadth to the issues. Any school involvement is co-ordinated by a senior teacher, whose decisions are trusted and respected by the HT. There is usually some

type of confidential counselling service on offer, which reinforces the health-embracing nature of the school.

HEALTH-EMBRACING CULTURE

Health issues are addressed in time that is 'bolted-on' to another activity, so provision is patchy, but nevertheless does have a semi-visible slot on the timetable. Some health-related professionals are invited into school, and any initiative that does not interfere with the everyday function of the organisation will be acceptable (eg. No Smoking Day; World Aids Day).

HEALTH-TOLERANT CULTURE

Any health input is done after the HT has had personal evidence of what is trying to be done; then if it acceptable, it is handed over to member of staff who has ad hoc responsibility for health education. Any external agency input could only occur if it fitted in with the current topics being covered at the time. However, the School Nurse has a very high profile, so a number of health issues can be directed to her. These schools are frustrating to work with in a consistent way; interest is only shown when the school finds itself with a problem (eg. high teenage pregnancy rate; young people with alcohol problems).

HEALTH-DISMISSIVE CULTURE

The school pays lip-service to the requests from external health professionals. The School Nurse is the dominating health influence, and she has the final veto on what gets done in school. Staff are not encouraged to take on an overt health-educating role, and although it does appear on the timetable, other tasks take up Tutor time. However, a health information evening is arranged for parents of new pupils – but it is more to do with the dissemination of rules and regulations – with some drug-related information from the local constabulary.

6.4 Implications for Schools

Schools that exhibit a culture where the framing and classification codes are strong are doing young people a disservice. Education should no longer be seen as a tool of social class control – as it has attempted to be in the past. Teachers who work in this type of environment stay very much within their specific subject area so that it remains ‘untainted’. Education is based on middle-class norms and values that are perpetuated by professional teachers. In schools where the strength of classification is high, the opportunities for pupils to gain transferable skills are very much reduced. The work climate is now so uncertain that the more skills a young person can acquire, the better their future job prospects. As Handy (1997:209) has stated “schools...are the only safe practice ground for life that we have.”

Where schools encourage pupil participation (and therefore skill practice), the classification and framing strengths are weakened. Subject areas are linked and pupils are encouraged to approach their education with a more holistic outlook. Teachers may still have middle-class values, but they use their authority and power in a different and constructive way. Therefore to understand the role of culture within schools, it must always be seen in its particular context. As discussed this is made up of historical, economic, social and political elements and means that the culture of any group of people, at any particular point in time is always influenced by many other factors.

According to Hargreaves (1995), the importance of school culture has been neglected and is poorly understood. However, more attention is now being given to the issue because it has become an implicit and integral part of a school’s accountability because a school’s ethos is now reported on as part of the Ofsted inspection framework. There has been a lot of research carried out since 2000, looking at social network influences within schools on health behaviours in young people. The

studies have shown that the school does exert an effect on the pupil regarding engagement with tobacco, cannabis and alcohol. However, what the studies conclude is that the school effect causes the pupil to reassess their attachment to the school, which then has an impact on their health choices (Fletcher and Bonnell 2013; Aveyard et al 2004; Markham et al, 2012). I have tried to determine what actually goes on in the school and then applied that to the pupil.

6.5 The Curriculum

The current programme of study was placed into schools in October 2014, with the PSHE Association stating that it had been updated to “reflect the rapidly changing world in which our pupils are living and learning and to sit alongside the 2014 National Curriculum” (PSHE Ass 2014:1). The updated programme of study draws on examples of good practice and identifies the key concepts and skills that underpin PSHEd.

The programme of study covers KS3 and KS4 and has three overlapping core themes which are

1. Health and Wellbeing
2. Relationships
3. Living in the Wider World

Schools can select the content that they consider will be beneficial to their population. It was revamped in light of the requirements of Section 78 of the Education Act 2002 and can be accessed at www.pshe-association.org.uk/sites/default.

6.6 Conclusion

I have shown that a school’s modality exists within the prevailing school culture and that it has an effect on HEd through the micro-interactional

processes. I am able to answer both of my research questions because I have demonstrated that in different modalities HEd is operationalised in different ways and explained why this occurs. My second research question has been answered because I have also acknowledged what the consequences of the modality strength are on the pupils learning of HEd.

In Chapter 7 I will summarise the findings and highlight any significant points and synthesise my thesis. Reflections on the research experience will be discussed and suggestions for further work will be suggested.

CHAPTER 7: Concluding Summary

7.1 Introduction

Different social structures result in different modalities of language and schools are one example of a place where this mediation occurs. Schools are in an unenviable position because they have a number of social environments to juggle and still produce pupils who are educated to an acceptable standard. The issues are compounded by the staff body and by the pupil cohort, which changes every year, together with associated stakeholders.

7.2 Key Findings

By using a qualitative approach for this study I have gained data about the micro-interactional level and compared it to other structures within the schools. When conducting the fieldwork I wanted to understand what structures had an impact on the school culture and have looked at the modalities of the school culture, health education and teaching and learning.

I found that by applying aspects of Bernstein's Theory of Cultural Transmission together with the Instructional and Regulative discourse (1996) I found that there are differences within the power and control relationships within each school. Where both features are strong, there is an overt power relationship where the teacher directs the lesson, with very little input from the pupils. When the relationship between the power and control characteristics are weak then the lesson is more interesting for the pupils because they are able to have more control of their learning and the means by which they obtain their knowledge.

Each school has a distinctive culture and with this comes different school level artifacts, some are designed to celebrate the school's history, pupil achievements or position in the local community. Some of the nuances are very subtle when they are experienced, but when these are analysed in the "big picture", they have significant effects. For example, School C had classroom doors open during lessons whereas School W always had them closed. One school had "petty rules" which gave rise to some resentment but another school had similar sanctions and the pupils accepted them.

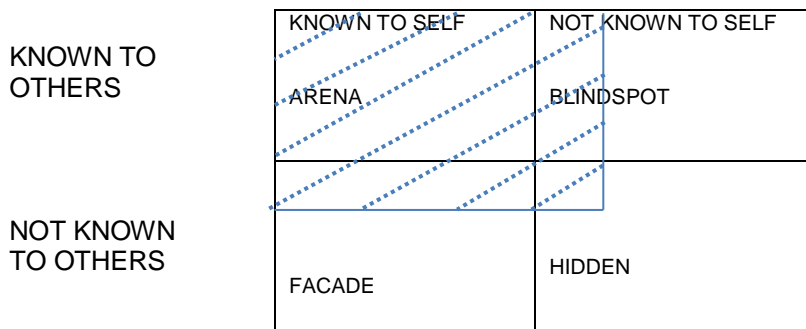
Each school had sub-cultures, but as I was not in them for long enough, it was only anecdotal evidence because I did not know the culture well enough. The school that was very bureaucratic School X, appeared to be most damaged in that the hidden culture was one teacher strife and unhappiness. Schools H and C were the happiest most accommodating places, whilst School W was noisy chaos.

7.3 A Reflexive Account

I will use the Johari Window as it is useful in helping me to understand my reflective learning as a researcher. It considers different perspectives from which I can view myself and how I might be viewed by others. From undertaking this research the Arena Quadrant has increased in size and the others have reduced in size:

- My confidence as a researcher has increased
- I have shared dialogue with others in the field
- It has deepened my knowledge from an ontological perspective

Figure 7.1: Johari Window (Luft, 1970)



7.4 Reflections

One of the fundamental difficulties with this project was the definition of ethos and culture. I have finally identified my understanding in Chapter 1, and used these to carry out my literature searches. I soon realised that the two words were being used interchangeably and many of the peer-reviewed journal articles that I had diligently tracked down proved to be of little use. On the subject of literature, I had not appreciated how vast the three disciplines of education, health and sociology were. It was an ambitious project and perhaps if I attempt something similar in the future I would scale it down or work as part of a research team.

The bulk of my fieldwork was made up of talking, listening and observing, but I had the most frustration with the latter method. During my lesson observations, I was going to use a stopwatch so that I could get accurate figures for the time pupils were off-task. After the first session, I abandoned the idea because in order to get the timing accurate, I was missing classroom interactions. As this is a qualitatively driven study, I did not need a high level of accuracy. I have included some charts because I find them a useful way of explaining “dry” results.

When I started the study I did not think that I would get enough data to support my research questions. When I started the analysis I had so much information, even after I had reduced it through the content analysis exercises that I then had to make a decision about what to omit and it was not an easy choice to make because as far as I was concerned it was all relevant. I am hoping that the decisions I made interpreting the data will off-set this problem. The aims of the study were to:

1. Investigate culture and health education in four English secondary schools
2. Understand the discourse used within each school in order to identify the power and control that exists within the organisation concerning health education
3. Determine the relationships within the school's culture
4. Identify the effects that school culture has on the pedagogy of health education.

I am reasonably confident that I have fulfilled these criteria and have presented the data mostly in Chapter 5 together with some discussion. This was not my intention, but as the research evolved, the narrative was of more use in the Findings Chapter than the Analysis Chapter, so I combined the two in order to provide a "joined-up" piece of work that made sense. I think it makes the data more meaningful and easier to understand.

I knew of the schools through a previous work role that I had done. This had its drawbacks for several reasons:

- The head teachers had high expectations of the research
- I had to remain 'neutral' in the sense that prior knowledge of the institutions could not be used when making the conclusions

- Because the schools were presuming positive outcomes only, I was put under a degree of pressure in order that the research was not compromised by these expectations.

Gaining long-term commitment from the right decision-maker was fraught with the following difficulties:

- Barriers/obstacles imposed by the 'gate-keepers', who were either the receptionist and/or a disinterested teacher who had been asked to liaise with the me
- The head teacher's personal agenda:

SCHOOL X: This individual had a covert agenda and was not interested and therefore not particularly committed, but could see that it would be a useful exercise from the point of view that any data had an application, either now or in the future. It was not easy to gain access to the key PSHE staff and the Head was very strict about what could be done. Everything was vetted and commented on before work could proceed, thus reinforcing the perceived controlled and directive culture that exists in the school.

SCHOOL C: The request to use the school in the research was received with guarded openness. The Head approved the proposal, and all contact with the school was arranged through the Deputy Head who has responsibility for the Pastoral issues. The school was keen to be accessible and were quite helpful. A number of the staff were observed, and showed a genuine interest in the aims of the research; although this did not apply to the whole staff.

SCHOOL H: All contact was with and through the Head. The impression gained of the staff was that they were interested and not just

paying lip-service to the fact that the Head was involved. However, with the best will in the world, the teaching of Health Education is not a priority because the curriculum has so many other pressures on it. The Head did not anticipate that the research would uncover any problems, and was proud of the Health Education provision.

SCHOOL W: The Head had a very slight personal interest; enough to give consent to allow direct contact to be made with the PSHE Co-ordinator. This person had had the PSHE role added to the main Head of Department responsibilities. The main problem was the lack of time that she had, combined with the fact that anything PSHE-related work did not have a priority. Therefore, pressure on this person's packed job role, manifested itself as a very obstructive attitude, with the added frustration that no other access was available. This was partly responsible for no questionnaires being returned from Year 10 because it was not seen as a priority.

Maintaining commitment throughout the period of the research, was sometimes frustrating because the levels of interest within the study schools fluctuated:

SCHOOL X: Contact became virtually impossible; a vestige of contact survived due to a previous working relationship that I had developed with the PSHE Co-ordinator. Groups with whom contact was allowed comprised of individuals who were of low-ability and totally disengaged from education. The teachers appeared to be relieved that they were going to be someone else's problem for a couple of afternoons when I came in to do the focus groups.

SCHOOLS C and H: Whenever I made contact with these schools, a reply was always forthcoming, either by post, but usually by phone. A

good dialogue was maintained throughout the research process, and the contact individuals expressed ongoing interest. Both schools were well organised regarding requests for time with different groups of pupils on a number of occasions.

SCHOOL W: It was not possible to continue working with the school because the PSHE Co-ordinator did not reply to letters or telephone calls. Any dates that had been agreed were later double-booked. On two occasions, when visiting the school on a pre-arranged date, the first had been 'forgotten' and the other involved the required group being hastily removed from a 'special assembly' so that the focus group session could be carried out. Regarding the lack of questionnaires; the contact person had no intention of disseminating the information, even though some of the other staff had expressed an interest in the study.

The questionnaire, although piloted in a similar school elicited unintentional responses that were not anticipated as part of study. Sometimes when people see the word "health", they immediately latch on to something medical. Although I carefully explained the reason for the questionnaire some pupils still treated it as a medical survey. The questionnaire was ideal for identifying issues that were associated with discipline, praise and encouragement. Regarding the reputation of the school section, this may well have been mis-targeted. Parents would be in a better position to answer questions related to these issues.

The Health Education section was placed in two positions on the questionnaire:

- as the penultimate question
- as the final question.

It would appear that neither position altered the response rate or the type of response in this section.

Due to the nature of the Health Education questions, it might elicit more thoughtful responses if it was on a separate sheet. The existing questions did not adequately reveal the extent of the health education provision. Alternatively, the extent of the responses may be a true reflection of the status of health education and should not be pursued any further, except to determine whether it exists, and what is taught. The Focus Groups elicited very useful information. The strategies I employed appeared to make the groups feel at ease, which facilitated the flow of information. The one observation that is worth bearing in mind is that the location for the sessions had quite an effect on the attitude of the participants. In Schools X, H and W I was allocated an empty classroom, but in School C I was given the Deputy Heads room for every visit. The pupils were very respectful and quiet and it took some time to get them to talk. At the end of one session one of the participants came and spoke to me; she was really concerned that the room was bugged because it was the Deputy head's room. I tried to allay her fears; the thought had never crossed my mind but it did make me think that rooms of authority figures probably were not the place to conduct a focus group.

The schools that I used for the study were too different in respect of:

1. Different years of entry into the High Schools – Years 7, 8 and 9, namely 2-tier and 3-tier. It would be of more use to this study if the pupils all started in Year 7 (within the 2-tier system) so that the Year 10 target group had the same amount of exposure to the school's values and beliefs;
2. Two schools had Sixth forms, which appeared to have a bearing on the prevailing culture;
3. The school sizes ranged from 700+ to 1200+: The size of an organisation does influence the priorities within its culture.

7.5 Implications for Practice

This research study has added to the current research base because it has provided an in-depth analysis of the micro-interactional level within the macro-environment in which all schools operate. It gives a deeper insight into the factors that promote or block health education for young people in schools.

Newly qualified teachers would benefit from actually carrying out a study like this. I completed a PGCE after a Science degree, and when I started teaching, and was confronted with health-related areas of the curriculum to teach, I had no templates of prior knowledge or guidance. Today's average adolescent is more likely to know more about HEd than new teachers and this is the crux of the matter because they are tech-savvy and able to access the web anywhere. Implications for practice from my point of view are presenting an alternative solution to teaching HEd.

Firstly the subject has to be separated from PSHEed, so that it has an identity and for KS3 (Years 7, 8, 9) teach the subject through the Salutogenesis model. It is a positive approach to health where negative health (or dis-ease) and positive health (health-ease) are placed on a continuum. I argue that the school's values and culture are part of this continuum and will pre-determine where the school population will be placed. Attainment targets can be devised to encourage the pupils to move towards the health-ease end of the continuum and health skills are taught which are shaped by the school's values. I do not think that setting "X%" health targets to be reached by "Y" year is appropriate for schools to be expected to contribute to – far more use if positive health messages were relayed and pupils actually start taking responsibility for their own health behaviour.

For KS 4 and 5, Salutogenesis could provide the answer and be

incorporated into a “Health Passport” that would stay with pupils until their early thirties. Antonovsky (1996) suggested that individuals had a mature “sense of coherence” (SoC) by that age and they were in a better position to take responsibility for their own health actions. The salutogenic model suggests that an individual’s SoC can determine their health experience and status. When the social environment is supportive and nurtures self-esteem, then health knowledge is assimilated and used in times of personal need. Therefore, it would be assumed that in schools that exhibit weak classification and weak framing (denoted as C-/F-) the SoC would be high and positive. This would enable young people to have a better understanding of how to remain at the health-ease end of the SoC continuum and so make healthier choices.

Individuals within the health-adoptive and health-embracing cultures will have a better SoC throughout their time at school and beyond. Health issues will be put into perspective for them and they can ask questions in a safe and non-threatening environment. Health facts will be straightforward and understandable, enabling young people to identify their current health status and how they can maintain it for life, therefore giving them a manageable long-term strategy for good health. It is highly probable that schools where this will happen as a matter of course will be those with a majority of middle-class intake.

In the health-tolerant culture, pupils will have a problem accessing reliable health information, but in terms of their SoC, they are capable of finding alternative sources of information (eg. the internet). Also, peers and older friends with first-hand experience of the health issue in question would probably be the purveyor of knowledge that the young person would trust and act upon if there was a crisis. However, some members of the school would seek professional information because they are more interested in getting the proper facts. Pupils have the

ability to assimilate information for their own learning situations but will sometimes also seek reassurance. They will ask for explanation from a trusted adult who may be a teacher, learning assistant, friend or family member.

Any health information is prescriptive and tacitly censored in the health-dismissive culture. The information is factual, with no opportunity for discussion in order to assimilate the information in a way that could be of use in the future. In terms of the SoC, young people will rely on each other for information, and this will probably be in the form of anecdotal evidence. Therefore, their health status will be crisis-managed that could help to keep them healthier for a longer period. Therefore, the research schools will be in the following order on the continuum:



Schools can still offer HEd but it should be knowledge-based only and pupils should be encouraged to find information out for themselves so that they start to actively engage with their “holistic” selves. This would relieve the pressures on the timetable space because the subject would not necessarily need to exist as it would be more portable due to its flexibility. For example, Tutor periods could have a 15 -20 minute weekly slot within them for a pupil to access the internet and do some research, about health or a hobby or something that was seen on TV. This resonates with one of the pupil comments about HEd “not being useful in ten years’ time” (School X). The research on the impact of adolescent’s use of the different types of media is in its infancy, but young people themselves acknowledge that it is one of the few ways that prevention messages can keep being pushed (Hughes and Palen,

2009). I think this will prove to be a far more user-friendly approach for young people to access health information and, it will release hard-pressed teachers from the stress of having to teach an area of the curriculum with which they do not feel entirely comfortable.

The compulsory leaving age for pupils has now risen to 18 years. In my opinion, it is now time for a health approach that is both relevant and meaningful to these young people. I do not think that schools should be involved in changing health behaviours for two reasons. The first is that the professional training teachers have is subject based and secondly, they have sufficient pressures within the education sphere ensuring that their pedagogic role is good enough and that they are adding-value to the school in which they work.

As I write this thesis, the Government has been lobbied by the PSHE Association (and many other organisations) with the intention of raising the profile of PSHEed and that it gains a more secure place on the curriculum by becoming a statutory subject. It has been turned down in the past, and I do not think that the subject will be granted statutory status in the near future. The Government is very concerned that the UK will have a skills shortage, and that the national economy will decline if young people do not achieve good grades in their school examinations. The drive is on improving literacy and numeracy skills and raising levels of attainment at all levels and that is the main task of the teaching professional.

Therefore, I consider that this research is also timely and potentially useful to all schools.

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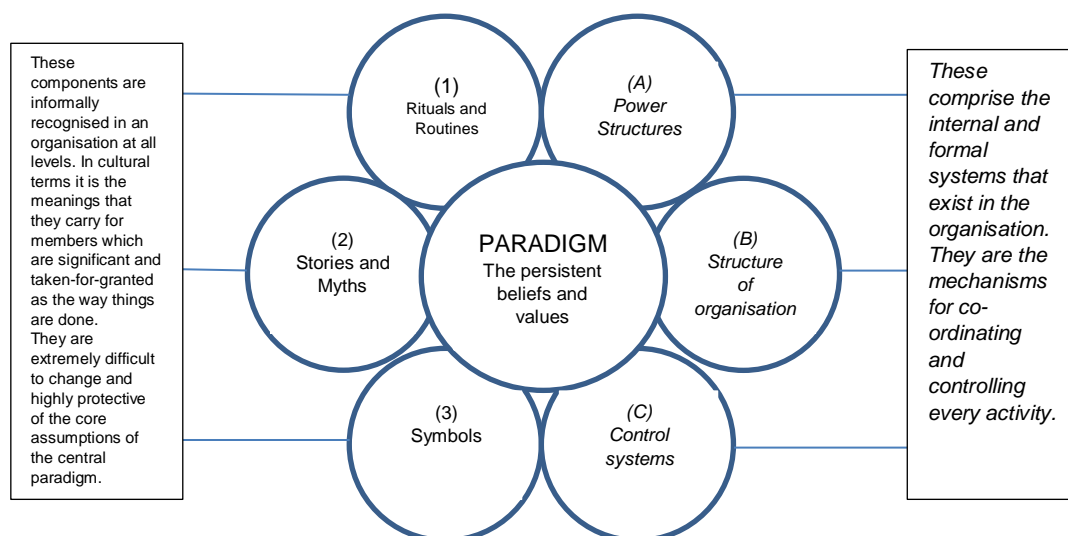
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Appendix 1: Cultural Web (Johnson and Scholes, 1988)

This model is a useful conceptual tool for understanding the way in which beliefs and assumptions (that are linked to the political, symbolic and structural aspects of the organisation), guide and constrain the development and strategy. It can be used as a basis for considering a cultural audit of the organisation.

The national and societal cultures that prevail have a direct impact on the Cultural Web. Below is a diagram that shows how each aspect inter-relates within any organisation.



Within a school they have the following meanings:

CIRCLE 1 – RITUALS AND ROUTINES

These reaffirm commitment and roles and signal to external agencies what is especially valued within the school. It includes the behaviour/relationships between people in school, assemblies, routine meetings and who is present.

CIRCLE 2 – STORIES AND MYTHS

These make culture visible and embed the present in the past so enabling generations of the school's participants to make sense of events and actions, eg. Speech Day and Founder's Day.

CIRCLE 3 – SYMBOLS

These represent the values and assumptions that the school regards as important, such as punctuality, respect, school uniform and sports cups.

CIRCLE A – POWER STRUCTURES

These are associated with the key constructs of the paradigm and uphold and reinforce the core assumptions and beliefs such as the Head's vision, SMT, HoDs and all other groups who have an internal and external interest in the school.

CIRCLE B – ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

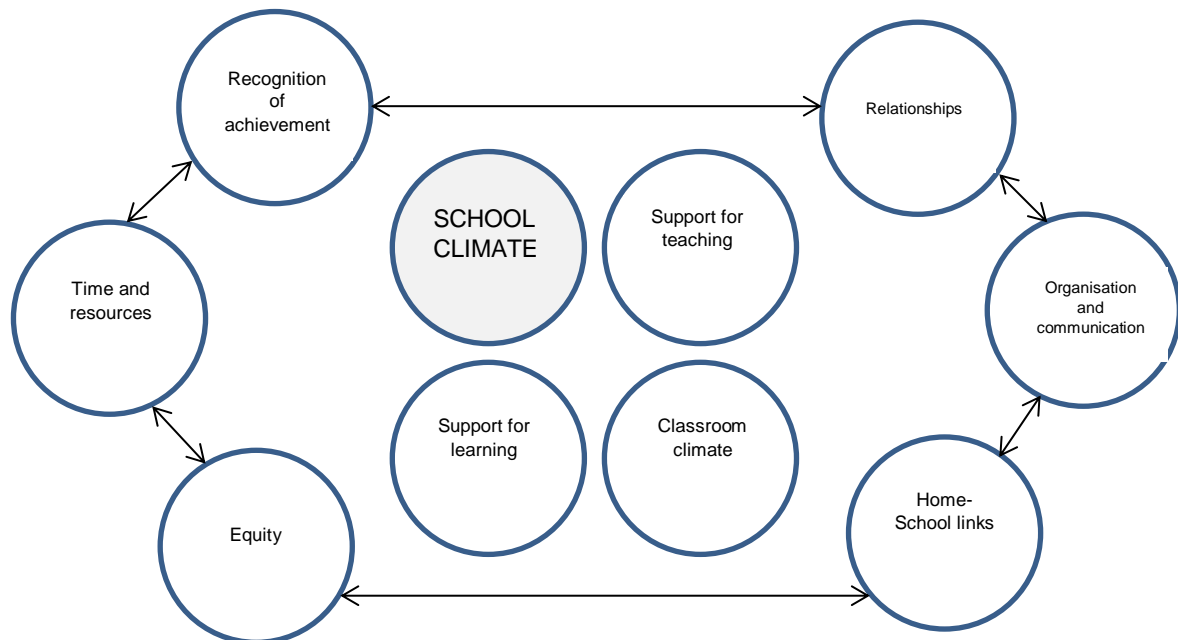
This demonstrates overtly the professional relationships that are important to the functioning of the school, eg. the structure of the school personnel, pedagogy and pupil teaching and learning.

CIRCLE C – CONTROL SYSTEMS

These emphasise what is important in the organisation and are devised to focus attention on the activity; they include an individual's 'span of control', rules and regulations, sanctions and rewards, pupil progress tracking and target setting.

Appendix 2: Ethos Indicators (MacBeath, 1999)

When trying to understand what made one school more effective than another, MacBeath developed a framework that could be used to carry out such an evaluation. The Framework consisted of ten indicators, as shown below:



Within the School Climate Indicator there are twelve ethos indicators. These are:

- Pupil morale
- Teacher morale
- Teachers' job satisfaction
- The physical environment
- The learning context
- Teacher-pupil relationships
- Discipline
- Equality and justice
- Extra-curricular activities
- School leadership
- Information to parents
- Parent-teacher consultation.

APPENDIX 3: Pupil Questionnaire

School Culture and Health Questionnaire

Ref No.

Your answers will be completely confidential and anonymous. Please read the questions carefully and answer them honestly by putting a circle around your responses.

Thank you.

Are you a BOY or a GIRL?

REPUTATION OF THE SCHOOL

1. Do people think this is a good school to come to?

Strongly
agree

agree

not sure

disagree

strongly
disagree

Why? _____

2. Do your parents/guardians attend school meetings during the year?

Always

nearly
always

sometimes

hardly
ever

never

3. Is the school clean and tidy? (eg. litter, graffiti, toilets)

Strongly
agree

agree

not sure

disagree

strongly
disagree

DISCIPLINE

4. Is anti-social behaviour (eg. bullying, swearing at people, fighting, name-calling), allowed by teachers in your school?

Always

nearly
always

sometimes

hardly
ever

never

5. Do teachers take any action when the school rules are broken?

Strongly
agree

agree

not sure

disagree

strongly
disagree

6. Do you think the school rules help the reputation of the school?

Strongly
agree

agree

not sure

disagree

strongly
disagree

7. When you are not ill, are you ever away when you should be here, such as skipping lessons or bunking off?

Always	nearly always	sometimes	hardly ever	never
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8. If you were absent without a reason, is action taken by the school?

Always	nearly always	sometimes	hardly ever	never
--------	------------------	-----------	----------------	-------

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PRAISE

9. Do you get positive comments when you have done good work for class-, course- and homework assignments?

Always	nearly always	sometimes	hardly ever	never
--------	------------------	-----------	----------------	-------

10. Do you get praised for good behaviour and attitude in lessons?

Always	nearly always	sometimes	hardly ever	never
--------	------------------	-----------	----------------	-------

11. Is it important to you to have your work marked regularly?

12. Do you think your views about the school count for anything?

13. When you think about school, what worries do you have?

HEALTH EDUCATION

14. Do you consider that you receive enough knowledge about health during your PSE/Health Education lessons?

Always	nearly always	sometimes	hardly ever	never
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15. Is there anyone in the school who you would be able to talk to if you had a problem (eg. personal, health, relationships, parents)?

Strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
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Appendix 4: Staff Questionnaire

School Culture and Ethos Questionnaire

Ref No.

Your answers will be completely confidential and anonymous. Please respond honestly to the following questions, as they will inform part of my Research Project.

Thank you for your time and assistance.

1. MALE

FEMALE

2a. How many years have you been teaching?

b. What is your subject speciality?

3. How many years have you been teaching in this school?

4. Define 'school ethos' in your own words:

5. List TEN words that you think accurately describe the ethos of this school:

1		6	
2		7	
3		8	
4		9	
5		10	

6. How important are the following in developing a school culture and ethos?

Rank the following in order, with 1 being the **most** important and 15 being the **least** important.

STATEMENTS 1 - 15	RANK
Purposeful teaching	
Shared vision and targets	
Positive reinforcement	
An approach that concentrates on teaching and learning	
High expectations of pupils	
An interest in monitoring pupils' progress	
A positive home-school partnership	
An awareness of pupils' rights and responsibilities	
Professional leadership from the Head	
Collaboration and teamwork with colleagues	
Staff consultation on important issues	
Managerial positions between and within departments having clearly defined responsibilities and authority	
Staff participating and influencing pedagogic decisions within their school	
A strict dress code	
A communal staffroom and work spaces	

7. What else do you consider important when thinking about school culture and ethos?

PLEASE RETURN THIS in the attached envelope and place in the tray in the
STAFFROOM.

Appendix 5: Detailed Descriptions Of The Schools

INDICATORS TAKEN FROM DOCUMENTS IN 2012	SCHOOL X	SCHOOL C	SCHOOL H	SCHOOL W
Number on Roll	1405	1251	915	762
Free school meals (taken as an indicator for economic deprivation within school community)	8.4%	3.2%	3.8%	22.0%
Ofsted Grading for “Personal development and well-being” (1=Outstanding)	2	2	1	4
Entry Year	Year 8	Year 8	Year 7	Year 7
Authorised Absence	8.2%	6.0%	5.4%	8.9%
Unauthorised Absence	1.9%	1.4%	1.1%	2.7%
Special Educational Needs pupils	15.0%	13.3%	9.2%	19.3%

Appendix 6: Focus Group Interview Schedule

Group work Question Sheet

Introduction to session: Explain self/reasons for study and why they are participating/ need for the recording machine/ confidentiality and anonymity.

Objectives

- 1/. To gain the words that Year 10 students would use for school culture and ethos
- 2/. To learn from them what health and lifestyle issues are most important.

Question1 triggers:

Do you like being here?

What things make the school day/week bearable?

What is the atmosphere like around the school?

How would you describe how things are done around the school?

How are you treated?

Question 2 triggers:

What are the main lifestyle concerns that your age group have?

How could you find out about support/advice for any worries?

What's relevant to your age group?

What advice is going to be important to you once you have left school?

Appendix 7: Completed lesson observation schedule

School		W	Pupil engagement	Teaching Style	Activity	Classroom Environment	Pupil talk	Lesson success	Health Education Policy	Healthy School Award
Pupils	A B C D E	40%	Y Y X Y Y Y X X Y X X X X Y X X Y Y X X X X X X X Y X Y X Y	Prescriptive (Sexual Health)	Talk and work sheets	Noisy and chaotic with pupils talking over each other and asking non-relevant questions	Use of inappropriate vocabulary and very sexist language	X	NO	NO
School		H								
Pupils	A B C D E	90%	Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y X Y Y Y Y Y Y Y X Y Y X Y Y	Facilitator (Drug use)	Group discussions from 'trigger' material about drug use	Calm and purposeful and pupils respected peers contributions	On-task for almost the entire lesson; thoughtful and used correct vocabulary to get points across	Y+++	YES	YES
School		X								
Pupils	A B C D E	50%	X X X Y X Y Y Y Y Y Y Y X Y Y X X X X X X Y X X X Y X Y X Y	Teacher-led and controlled (Risk-taking)	Teacher talked and then pair work on sheets in silence	Air of resignation – pupils saw it as a task that had to be done to get through the lesson	Minimal pupil input. Those who were 'off-task' sat quietly looking as if they were working	Y	YES	YES
School		C								
Pupils	A B C D E	70%	Y X Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y Y X X X X X Y Y Y Y X Y X Y X Y Y	Pupils led session as it followed on from previous week (Substance use)	Reporting on research about 'alcohol and the law' as group presentations	Most pupils were interested, but some opted-out; it depended on who was presenting	Presentations had been well thought through; gave balanced reasons and correct factual information	Y++	YES	YES

Appendix 8: LEA Advisor 'School identification' exercise

School Descriptions

CODES for each school are:

X = Very large, 11-18 on sprawling site

C = Large 12-18 located in a market town

H = Rural location, over-subscribed, medium 11-18

W = Outskirts of city, edge of estate housing, 11-16.

To ensure anonymity, the schools are referred to by their assigned codes. So as to confirm the validity of my results, the research findings have been set out as statements

The school identifier code is placed into the box adjacent to the statement that you think best describes it.

Many thanks for agreeing to do this,

HB

April 2008

Statements gathered from documentation and school questionnaires

School Codes: **X C H W**

Has a fsm rate of 24% and exclusion rate of 23%	
Pupils like school and are proud to wear the uniform	
School exhibits achievements and all staff have formal qualifications written into school prospectus	
PSHE has set timetable time that is the same through all Year groups	
Has a culture of tolerance and care that is defined within tight parameters	
Most pupils feel that there is no-one in school that they could talk to about personal worries	
Offers an in-school 'drop-in' service and clinic	
Culture is mostly co-operation and routine	
School rules are strictly applied and pupils feel very controlled	
Very large school where a number of pupils feel 'powerless' regarding subject Option choices and personal recognition	
Highly bureaucratic management system and relations with external agencies are formal	
House system is used that effectively streams the pupils by subject options in Year 9	
PSHE is very prescriptive and is taught by worksheets	
Noisy and chaotic times when pupils wander about	
Pupils do not respect each other and are overtly rude to Staff	
Culture is one of very high expectations and values academic achievement above all else	
During PSHE lessons there is an emphasis on facts – pupils constantly interrupt and use inappropriate language and scenarios	
Headteacher is very paternalistic	

School sees itself as 'people-centred'	
Has a successful School Council that is involved in many aspects of the school	
School is regimented by daily routines	
Any PSHE is an 'add-on' to Tutor time	
Parents are very supportive of the school	
School day is 'busy', but not always effective in terms of pupils' learning progress	
Parents do not regard education as a 'goal to be valued'	
PSHE lessons are collaborative and include opportunities for groupwork, debates and individual research on topics that arise during lessons	

Appendix 9:

Content Analysis Results

KEY: Sch H – Yellow
Sch W – Blue
Sch X – Green
Sch C – Orange

These responses were similar for all schools, and describe the espoused public culture.



These were also similar words across the schools, describing the overt professional working culture.

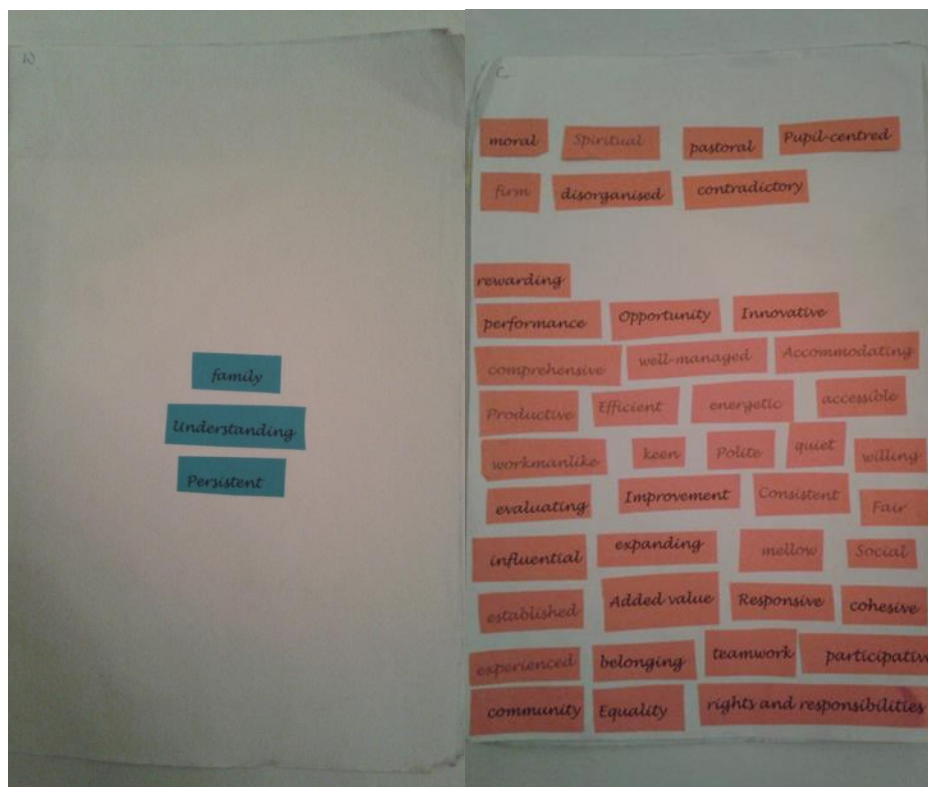


The words are almost identical across the 4 schools and are a description of the overt pedagogic culture.



These words are descriptive of the overt teacher culture.





The words on these lists are different and are the honest, deeply held views that accurately reflects the prevailing culture of each school

Appendix 10: Focus Group Transcriptions

Question 1: How is health education operationalised in different modalities and why? (i.e culture and ethos of different schools)

(a) Do you like being here? What is the atmosphere like?

School C:

Focus Group 1 (seem to be all male)

Yeah. School is what we expected from 1st school. Usually all right. Friendly. We see each other quite a lot outside school. We back each other up. The girls are tarts.

Focus Group 2 (Seem to be female)

“Different. Fun. Good atmosphere. Quite happy. Friendly. Nice people. Everyone gets on. We help each other out.” In the main, this group was happy with the school and did not wish to leave and go elsewhere in the 6th form – though it was acknowledged that the boys regarded this view as “sentimental”.

Focus Group 3 (all seem to be boys)

There seem to be no relevant comments from this group.

School H:

Focus Group 1 (seem to be mixed)

Yes. (B & G). Helpful and friendly. (G & B) Atmosphere good. (B & G) People – mainly boys- expelled from elsewhere come here and change. (G) We see quite a lot of each other outside school. (B & G). It's a good place. (G)

Focus Group 2 (seem to be mixed)

Lots of pressure and hard work (G). Some teachers/lessons are boring (B & G). We are a noisy year, but usually get on with each other. It's a big deal if girls fall out. Boys tend to have a big fight and then it's all over; girls' squabbles go on for ages(G). Most of the time we are happy about being here. (B & G) There are some good teachers (G). You get a good education (B & G).

Focus Group 3 (seem to be mixed)

It's OK. Kind of friendly (G).

School X: (all male)

No! (unanimous – this seems to be a very disaffected group!). It's boring. Crap. The teachers pick on you. You can't do what you want (e.g. go out if you want to; smoke in the playground). Can't wait to leave. Dislike it all. Tell anyone thinking of coming here don't bother – go away. It's rubbish. The teachers are useless. It's a shithole. (When asked whether prospective parents should consider sending their children, the response was “Not unless you are a drug-dealer.”) But it is quite friendly.

School W.

Year 10 (mixed group)

Sometimes supportive (G). Friendly (B & G). Ok being here. Not brilliant or anything.

Year 9 (mixed group)

Friendly.

Site's not good. (There seem to be a lot of cliques – "It's OK if you belong.").

(b). What makes being here bearable?

[The most significant factor here – which applied to both sexes in all interviewed groups – was the tremendous importance of friends. This was extremely important in the early days when pupils were settling in, where friendships from junior schools were clung to. But even later on, when new friendships had been made with new people, it was a major issue. Friendships often involved after-school contact. A girl from School C (Group 2) said friends were more important than boys.]

School C, Group 1

Lunchtime clubs. Matches after school.

Group 2

Friends. Lots of different clubs. The teachers are basically all right.

Group 3

Friends.

School H, Group 1

Lunch-times (B). Friends (G). Friendships important for boys and girls. (B & G).

Group 2

No information available.

Group 3

No information.

School X

Nothing. (One lad said he quite liked woodwork because he was more in control of what he was doing.) The only good thing about the school was seeing your mates and having people to speak to.

School W

Group 1

Break-times (B). (Again, it was the freedom that was important (B) – and the lack of teachers (G).)

Group 2

No information

(c) How would you describe how things are done around school?

(i) Discipline/rule enforcement

School C, Group 1

[There seem to be lots of rules in the school, such as not running in corridors and not eating in classrooms. Lots of things that seem far more serious (such as smoking) are apparently often ignored. Sanctions include school-time detentions, extra duties

and green slips/letters home. These are largely dismissed as ineffective.] One girl admitted that she sometimes broke the rules, but nevertheless tried in the main to live up to what was expected and to the trust of her parents.

Group 2

No comments about discipline or rules.

Group 3

Some of the rules are a bit stupid. Some are rubbish (like not being able to play football in certain areas). Not being able to eat in class is silly. (Letters home for skiving were regarded as “no big deal”; skiving itself was dismissed as pointless since you’d have to make up the work anyway.)

School H, Group 1

There aren’t really many school rules. (B, G.)

Group 2

This group found rules were quite strict about homework – failure in this meant either one had to do twice as much (B) or got a detention during break or lunchtime (B), though this depended a lot on the teacher: some were more understanding than others. Detentions after school were for major issues. (B)

Exclusion from lessons was seemingly common and meant the child was either sent outside the door or to the library. Parents were only informed when the child was a repeat offender (G, B). Suspensions and isolation (G) also happened on occasions, but rarely expulsion.

A rule that children had to be outside at break and lunchtime was enforced. This group thought that there were quite a lot of rules, quite strictly enforced, though punishment depended what you’d done and which rule you’d broken (G). A boy observed that it was tough if you were punished for something you didn’t do, which often happened to him.

Group 3

The rules are stupid. (It seemed to be mainly those relating to uniform that were a bone of contention.)

School X

The principle offences seemed to concern skiving and bad language – which were punished by lunchtime and even after school detentions. Break detentions and lunchtime detentions were usually for the more trivial offences; more serious infringements resulted in after school detentions and even suspensions. But detentions were not always enforced, and “parents didn’t care anyway”. (As a punishment, they were clearly ineffective.) Kids were aware of the rules but chose to ignore them. The arrival of a new head had made no difference at all. One boy observed that there was too much expulsion and not enough help; the school was seemingly less tolerant than other schools about swearing, etc. (“That’s because they are all wankers”). Lots of kids were naughty and disruptive. Nothing much was done about it.

School W, Group 1

This school was perceived to be quite strict about issues such as lateness, which resulted in a detention (B & G) and maybe also a yellow sticker. There seemed to be quite a lot of contact with parents, who would be informed by a tutor if a pupil was caught smoking, for example, or if he/she was skiving. "But not about silly things." Skiving was apparently not that unusual, but far less common now (when there is technology to keep it in check!) than in the past. 3 unofficial absences would mean that the parents were telephoned or received a letter. And if the parents ignored this, the matter would be raised with the LEA (B & G). Failure to complete coursework would probably result in a detention. There was also a sanction called a subject report; this could result in a stint in the isolation room as well as a 40 minute after school detention (which parents would be notified about). Parents were in the main relatively accepting of the regime, although a girl sounded less sure of this than a boy, and observed that it depended what you'd done. The boy added that if you'd been fighting for no reason, then it was right to be punished, but not if you were being punished for something you hadn't done. 40 minute detentions were not regarded as particularly effective in changing behaviour, but this wasn't seen as the point of them anyway (B). Other sanctions mentioned included suspension (G) (for about 4 days: B), exclusion (B & G), a bad report (B) and even expulsion (B & G); a girl who punched a teacher was expelled. The regime would seem to have got much stricter since the new Head, and both boys and girls approved of this.

Group 2

Nothing was said about discipline.

ii. How about uniform and the image of the school?

School C, Group 1

Observations concerned the length of skirts, the need to tuck in shirts, wear brown shoes and no trainers. (It seemed from the muttered comments that maybe the rules were fairly flexibly enforced by many teachers.)

Group 2

Nothing said on this issue.

Group 3

The dress code (particularly concerning trainers) was regarded as stupid. Not being allowed to eat in class was silly. The most contentious issue was perhaps the ban on wearing one's coat. As far as the image of the school was concerned, it was felt to look quite nice from outside, and had a good name, even if inside it was a bit tatty. GCSE results were good; facilities were goodish; compared with other schools it was good.

School H, Group 1

The school was seen as quite strict about uniform, although some teachers were stricter than others (B). Again, the prohibition on trainers was mentioned (B & G).

Group 2

Nothing said

Group 3

There was a rule about not wearing coats inside, which could result in confiscation. This was stupid. The group also mentioned the ban on eating chewing gum (B), which they thought was petty. The school was oversubscribed and they felt it was overcrowded (B & G).

School X

The insistence on uniform was one of many issues objected to. The boys apparently removed as much of it as possible on the way home. As far as the school's image was concerned, it seems that there were few alternative places of education available.

School W, Group 1

The school is apparently regarded as one of the best by the local community (B & G), although there was a suggestion later by a girl that some parents perceived it as "a bit rough" because of the way some behaved out of school, which meant that some parents chose to send their children elsewhere. The pupils themselves thought it was a lot better than some of the others (B), with better facilities for sport. It was observed by a boy that school uniform rules (e.g. wearing blazers) at other schools were much more rigid. The policy at school W was nevertheless still reasonably firm, and if it was repeatedly ignored, parents would get a letter and pupils got a purple slip. (The ban on trainers was mentioned.) The problem seemed to be that uniform was felt to interfere with individual self-expression "You don't want all to be the same" (B), even though it was accepted that it was important that people outside could recognise where you were from.

Group 2

This issue was not mentioned.

iii. What about academically?

School C, Group1

The favourite lessons for the boys of this group were sports and electronics (projects generally were enjoyed as more interesting, because the pupil was more in control of the learning experience). A problem seemed to be that subject choice was quite restricted and variable, so some might have to move elsewhere to study particular A Levels (e.g. one boy mentioned graphics). The 6th form itself was regarded as quite good at school C, but only if they could offer what you wanted to do. 6th form colleges were dismissed as "for wusses" (B). The group were expected to take 9 or 10 GCSEs, with Maths, English and 2 or 3 Sciences being compulsory and most pupils in this group felt quite pressured, and had to do lots of homework: 3 subjects per night. Most of the emphasis was on exams rather than continuous assessment, but these were felt to be too far in the future to worry about yet. "Teachers push you."

Group 2

This group spent a lot of time talking about setting, which happened at the beginning of every year. They were mostly happy about it, since being moved into a different set was always possible and decisions were usually right. Even if you were in set 2, you could still get a good grade. Most wanted to stay on to the 6th form of school C; the sister of one girl had said it was brilliant. The girls seemed to share decisions about subjects and work (including homework) with their friends.

Group 3

This group seemed to be somewhat less academic in attitude; they were doing more practical things like sports studies, IT, business studies etc., although this was a matter of choice not ability. Science, Maths and English were compulsory. The entire group was doing Sports Studies; this was the only subject that was unsettled. Homework was reasonably heavy, and the thought of future exams was a worry, "since some people aren't good at exams". And since only 20% of the final result was dependent on coursework, "you couldn't really make up for it". As far as a future career was concerned "something to do with sport". University was probably not an option, but not ruled out by all.

School H, Group1

This group considered how things were taught: there seemed to be still quite a lot of chalk and talk and copying from the board, although this obviously depended on the teacher. The group preferred discussion (G), though it was acknowledged that there should be a mix. (B). They were expected to take about 10 GCSEs (B & G), were setted (in some subjects about 5 sets; in others 1/2, or 2 3s and 2 4s). This could affect grades; some people could be just entered for a foundation paper (B). The lower sets couldn't get higher than a C in Science (B, G). The group did not seem to think this was unfair; a girl said that she "would rather be put in a set I can do than cope with the stress of a set too high". A boy said it was better to be put with people of the same standard, otherwise "you wouldn't be able to work at a speed that suited you".

Group 2

This group (which seemed to be top set people) commented on the pressure of all the testing and coursework and homework. 3 hrs homework per night was common; it varied according to subject but all the teachers set a lot. (B & G) The pupils felt that their efforts weren't always adequately recognised. One girl said that the teachers were just there to set the work. Most were intending to go to University or maybe vocational training, and felt that their parents were pressuring them as much as their teachers. Whether or not their parents themselves went to University did not seem to make a difference: One boy felt that because they had, it was expected of him, while another said his parents' experience had turned him off. There was a Careers Guidance Officer available, but the service wasn't used very often.

Group 3

This group were mainly top set people, too, although that depended on the subject (B & G). Although they were moderately happy with setting, a boy observed that you could be put in the bottom set and get stuck, so you couldn't move up. The highest grade you could get would be a D or a C, and that could have influence your choice of what to do in the future. The group seemed unclear about re-sitting subjects and what the possibilities were; they were clearly somewhat troubled about it. None seemed to want to stay in the 6th form at school H; they seemed unsure about whether they wanted to go to University or not (one or two of the girls thought they might). They felt that the school was regarded as very academic, which meant "the teachers went on about results last year and league tables". There was a lot of stress on coursework and homework (3 hrs per night). Moreover, there was dissatisfaction with the way work was marked; there was insufficient comment or

justification given for the mark awarded. One boy said, wryly, “They say as long as you try your hardest, that’s all that matters. So you do, and they give you an F.”

School X

These were apparently bottom set people, and not all seemed clear about what and how many subjects they were taking (“Dunno. Technology?”). Not all were doing GCSEs. Teaching was mainly by copying from the board or a book and was boring. “Same thing every day.” The school was OK for those who wanted to learn, but most didn’t. None of this group wished to continue in any sort of education, though the importance of future vocational training was accepted: jobs that appealed included being a farrier, or a printer, or photographer, or making furniture.

School W, Group 1

Some of the pupils thought their parents were happy with the education they received; interestingly, it seems that those same parents had themselves attended school W. Most of the group seemed to want to go to University or college afterwards – careers that appealed included Business Studies, Marketing, Nursing, Financial Administration. All were concerned about future employment difficulties. All felt it was important to gain qualifications. A boy commented (concerning his parents) “Well, you’ve got to do them proud, haven’t you?” and there was general agreement at that. (This was the case even when the parents themselves did not have a job: many of the group had parents who were unemployed or underemployed.) Setting was the norm; all seemed clear as to what the various categories meant. GCSEs reflected what you want to do (B & G): options are at the end of year 9 (and you have at least 3), though English, Science and Maths are compulsory.

Group 2

Not much was said about academic matters, apart from the fact that teachers had too high expectations and pushed them too hard.

(iv) What about your relationship with your teachers? Are you treated fairly?

School C, Group 1

This group, not surprisingly, enjoyed lessons more if they liked the teacher and had some control over their learning experience themselves. Teachers they liked were “fair. Not too strict. Don’t treat you like kids – mutual respect.” They felt that female teachers were worse than men in this instance and preferred men (B), even though most of the staff were female, especially at the lower levels. The pupils felt that they were usually treated fairly, but that depended on what you’d done and on the teacher involved. Their favourite lesson was sport, and they said that had the best teacher, too.

Group 2

All the teachers are basically all right. They don’t treat the more academic differently from the rest. You are treated fairly. Some – but not all – teachers treat you with respect. “Some treat you as if you were 5, others like you were 15.”

Group 3

You have a good relationship with some teachers, but some are useless and can’t control a class. They are “too scared” to do anything about naughty pupils, so they

just pick on people they can control. Some teachers were strict about things like talking in class and were still perceived as good teachers; “a few teachers aren’t fair”. One boy thought teachers picked on him not because he was naughty (he insisted this was untrue) but because he was big. Some set a lot more work than others and some didn’t even bother to mark it.

School H, Group 1

“Some of the time teachers try to see our point of view – but sometimes they don’t.” It varies, more according to the teacher than the subject: Different teachers have different methods (B). We are usually treated fairly (G). If you have any trouble, they always listen to your side as well as the other side. They are not too quick to judge (B). Some teachers are good at bringing out the best in you. We are not told off too much (B & G). We are not scared of the teachers and are allowed to make mistakes (B & G); if we make mistakes we can learn. (B)

Group 2

The teachers were fair most of the time, though one boy felt that he was repeatedly punished for things he hadn’t done. He felt that he had been ‘labelled’; once you got into trouble with a few teachers it was expected and they got ‘edgy’ about you. One boy felt that some teachers were too soft, couldn’t control you and gave you too much leeway; you could do anything. This was particularly so with the lower sets. A girl observed that yesterday one pupil knocked out another one and nothing was done – she wasn’t even punished. But this depended on the teachers; some felt that theirs were too strict. Everyone agreed that it was important for teachers to treat them fairly – but it didn’t always happen!

Group 3

Teachers were only helpful if they liked you. “Some don’t understand that some of us can’t understand what they are on about.” The younger teachers are better than the older ones. Sometimes you are listened to, sometimes not, especially if you have a problem. And not everybody is treated the same.

School X

The teachers are too strict. They have no sense of humour. They treat us like shit. They show us no respect. (That goes for the Head, too.) We don’t respect them. What is needed is two-way respect. New teachers are fair game and we give them a rough time; we’ve made some cry.

School W, Group 1

The pupils seem to be quite strictly supervised and policed, although they did not seem unhappy about it; they didn’t seem to crave more freedom. They had a personal tutor who was regarded as a friend by some (B & G). This tutor could remain one’s personal tutor all through school, which was good (B & G); it’s not so good if half way through you have to get used to someone else. Your tutor gets to really know you. (B & G) But your tutor wouldn’t necessarily be on your side if you were in trouble with another teacher; it depends. All felt that the teachers were fair and there was no real problem with them having favourites, though there was rather more doubt about the suggestion that teachers didn’t pick on people – obviously some felt they did. There was general agreement that the Head wanted pupils to do well though pupils were less sure why.

Group 2

Most teachers don't understand our age group. (B & G). The school has a mix of old and young staff (B & G) though there are more old (B); the young are mainly nice (G) but the old are often boring.

(v) Do you have someone you can talk to?

School C, Group 1

Nothing was said on this issue.

Group 2

You can talk to teachers or your tutor (G) or the school nurse (though she wasn't used much). They find time for you and you can trust their discretion.

Group 3

This group was emphatic that they would speak only to friends if they had a problem, not to teachers. They wouldn't talk to siblings, nor to a school counsellor or the school nurse. If they felt victimised by another teacher, they would speak either to friends or their parents. "There's no point in going to another teacher. They stick together and don't do anything about it." They were less sure if they felt free to discuss personal relationship problems with each other – probably not, if there was a serious issue.

School H, Group 1

There was a room on Mondays for confidential discussion of problems (G), and a nurse (B). These were well-supported (G).

Group 2

This issue wasn't raised.

Group 3

There was apparently a 'clinic' where problems could be discussed, but even though it was supposedly confidential, people would know if you had attended it (B). "I wouldn't go." (B)

School X

This issue did not arise.

School W, Group 1

There is someone you could talk to (B & G) [The identity of this person was not specified by anyone: it is interesting that no-one named their personal tutor as that individual]. There used to be a counselling service (B & G).

Group 2

This issue did not arise.

2. What are the consequences of this for the different groups (i.e. lifestyle issues)?

(a). The main lifestyle concerns were:

(i) Interaction with other people:

(1) Bullying

School C, Group 1

This was not mentioned as a concern.

Group 2

Not mentioned as a concern.

Group 3

Not mentioned as a concern.

School H, Group 1

Not much bullying.

Group 2

Not mentioned as a concern.

Group 3

This issue seemed to involve pupils in the lower school who were being picked on by older ex-pupils who had been expelled. It was not mentioned as a concern in other respects elsewhere.

School X

One of the few good things said about the school by this group was that there was not much bullying.

School W, Group 1

Not much bullying here. When it occurs, teachers jump on it (B & G) – most of the time (B).

Group 2

Not mentioned as a concern.

(2) peer pressure/cliques

School C, Group 1

Not mentioned.

Group 2

There are clearly some cliques, and groups of people perceived as desirable to be seen with (“you’re either popular and beautiful or you’re not”), some of which seem quite exclusive, “but no great segregation”, although there is not much inter-year mixing.

Group 3

Not mentioned.

School H, Group 1

Not mentioned.

Group 2

Peer pressure from friends to smoke, but not as much as in Yrs 8 & 9. (G)

Group 3

Not mentioned.

School X

Not mentioned.

School W, Group 1

Both boys and girls were emphatic that peer pressure was quite strong at this school, and affected things like smoking, fashion and how you dressed (B & G). There also seemed to be cliques which it was desirable to join "Go for it!" (B). "Talk to them." (G)

Group 2

Not mentioned.

(3) Boy/girl relationships

School C, Group 1

"Not much of that at the moment. I prefer sport." (B) "School seems OK about boy/girl relationships; doesn't take much notice. No rules forbidding holding hands or anything." (B)

Group 2

Maybe too early to worry yet about things like contraception and pregnancy (G). Relationships with boys so far although important have been "unsuccessful!" and friends are more important than boyfriends. Boy/girl relationships can be difficult if you are in the same class. The school is OK about relationships but some things ("like French kissing in the corridors") are not acceptable: "teachers are funny about things like that."

Group 3

Not mentioned.

School H, Group 1

Problems regarding sex and relationships aren't really an issue yet.

Group 2

Not mentioned

Group 3

You are not allowed to hold hands in school (B) – "School is not a dating agency" (this is clearly a quote from some teacher). This does affect some people. Work is more important (B); there is plenty of time for that later (G), although nevertheless "there are lots of couples".

School X

Not mentioned.

School W, Group 1

There was a lot of concern amongst both boys and girls about issues concerning sex and risky behaviour. Safe sex was regarded as more of an issue for girls. (G). Both sexes agreed that relationships were probably easier to manage if they were pursued with people outside school, although there were plenty who went out with each other inside school ("half the school, actually!" [G]). One boy felt that if he had a relationship problem, he might get helpful advice from his sister, who was a past pupil at the school, although another girl seemed to think that HER sister wouldn't act in the same way: the difference seemed to be because her sister was unhappy and disliked the school whereas she liked it.

Group 2

Not really an issue yet, though a boy said he would probably stop and think first because of what might happen.

(ii) Work-related stress/work-life balance

School C, Group 1

All felt that the amount of work they had to complete could be stressful “and sometimes you don’t feel like doing it”. (B) Exams were, however, too far in the future to be causing too much concern.

Group 2

Not mentioned.

Group 3

This group did not feel that the work-life balance was difficult: “work doesn’t take over”. It was possible to do homework and watch TV at the same time, even though “sometimes it feels a bit 24 hour”. The group was quite worried about forthcoming exams, but hoping for good marks. The greatest pressure here seemed to be parents and the past performance of siblings.

School H, Group 1

The issue was not mentioned.

Group 2

Stress and pressure was cited as an issue, and likewise fear of failure (G) and letting one’s parents down (G). Exams, too, were a cause of anxiety (G & B).

Group 3

This group felt that it was difficult to fit in all the homework and coursework. Teachers got cross if they tried to do coursework instead of homework (B & G), even though only coursework counted towards the final grade. Relationships and Saturday jobs were really difficult to fit in with all the work (G & B).

School X

Not mentioned.

School W, Group 1

Both boys and girls said they felt under stress because of the pressure of work, especially coursework with tight deadlines. Nevertheless, both sexes had weekend jobs. “I can just about fit it all in” (B). Asked whether they had a life, both boys and girls responded, “Not really!”

Group 2

Issue not mentioned.

(iii) Smoking

School C, Group 1

Although there were lots of rules, many (including those concerning smoking) were ignored. There was a lot of smoking in the school. Smoking was nevertheless felt to be a major health issue by both boys and girls, and one boy said “it worries me.”

Group 2

One girl said “Smoking is not really an issue. If you don’t want to do it, you don’t do it, even though lots of people do.” There was a definite smoking clique in the school,

but none of the girls interviewed had felt any pressure to join it. They personally didn't associate with people who did smoke.

Group 3

Not mentioned by this group.

School H, Group 1

A boy said that there were strict rules to prevent smoking, but it still happened. Sometimes this was in the loos (G) but not always (B). There was no real distinction between whether the problem was worse among girls or boys.

Group 2

There was peer pressure from your friends to smoke (G), but not as much as in Years 8 & 9.

Group 3

Some people smoked in school. A boy said that how it was treated depended on where you did it. If it was done discreetly and away from the school building, it was ignored. If it was near the school building, the punishment could be a suspension (Both boys and girls agreed that this was the case).

School X

The fact that pupils were not permitted to smoke in the playground at School X Was cited as one of the reasons the school was disliked. However, you were not often caught. Most of the pupils smoked, as did most of their parents. National campaigns and negative adverts made no difference – dangers were in the future anyway.

School W, Group1

This group thought that your personal tutor, if she found out that you smoked, would tell your mum (B & G: quite emphatic). Smoking was still an issue (B & G); a very big issue. There was a definite smoking clique within the school. "Some teachers don't mind if you smoke: they tell you it's your business and they don't interfere." (This is the case even when pupils are under 16.)

Group 2

Smoking was simply accepted among this group; it was a normal part of their experience. Attempts to control it (via initiatives like the National Non-Smoking Day) made no difference. Apparently people stood outside the school and sold cigarettes (B).

(iv) Drink and drugs

(It was disquieting that although none of the pupils interviewed admitted to taking drugs, almost everyone knew how to get hold of them, and knew whom to approach.)

School C, Group 1

Taking drugs in school would lead to expulsion (B), although both B & G knew where to go if they wanted some.

Group 2

One girl said, "Some people take drugs. You hear things about who to go to, but I myself wouldn't know. My parents trust me, and that's important. I'm not stupid."

Group C

Issue not mentioned.

School H, Group 1

Drunkenness was not an issue (B & G), and there wasn't much of it.

As far as drugs were concerned, the response was, "Not here!" although both B and G were aware of the drug culture and would maybe (B)/probably (G) know who to get some from.

Group 2

Underage drinking is not really an issue here. Both B & G knew whom to go to if they wanted a fix.

Group 3

It was stated that there weren't drugs brought to school, although there had been in the past (B).

School X

Booze was accepted: "There's nothing else to do." (This was despite the fact that the boys concerned were under age.) Drugs – "Yes, obviously." From the comment made by one boy that the only parents who should consider sending their child to school X were drug-dealers, the implication would be that drugs were available in school.

School W, Group 1

Drugs were not felt to be an issue, nor drink (B & G)

Group 2

When asked if they knew where to get drugs and whom to get them from, both B and G said, "Yes, Everyone does. Everyone knows some-one." But they hadn't seen people standing outside the school selling them. Girls were aware of dealers near their homes, too, but boys were not. The group thought that the whole question of drugs was overdone and they had heard it all so often before: "Anyone who is going to take them is going to take them."

(v) Other health issues

School C, Group 1

None mentioned.

Group 2

Problems relating to risky sex were mentioned.

Group 3

Risky sex and STDs were mentioned, by implication ("a rash").

School H, Group 1

"Well, they promote healthy eating, but not very well!" (B) The main influences on diet were "parents rather than school." (B)

Group 2

None mentioned.

Group 3

None mentioned.

School X

“The toilets are not private enough.” This was seen as another example of the lack of respect shown towards the pupils.

School W, Group 1

AIDS was mentioned (presumably, the question of risky sex), as something that had been pushed into them from a young age.

School food was mentioned. A boy said that canteen food had improved recently: there was more choice of menu and fewer chips. But it was left up to you.

Group 2

STDs were not really an issue yet with this group; they were silent about the likelihood of being forced into sex. They did mention exercise – teachers apparently said “Why are you indoors?”

The issue of healthy eating was greeted with laughter. “We don’t get any of that!” (It was clearly the healthy eating they didn’t get any of from the food on offer, not teaching about it.) The food was pronounced “disgusting”, although there was an acknowledgement that it had changed a little recently. Prices outside school were better (B and G) and so was the food. They were officially allowed out. (B and G). Macdonalds was mentioned as a possible eating place (B and G).

(b). How do you find out about these things?

School C, Group 1

None mentioned.

Group 2

The girls would apparently go to someone called Mrs. Turner rather than the school nurse for advice, especially in a crisis like pregnancy. Regarding issues like STDs, most would speak to friends rather than healthcare professionals if they wanted information and advice.

Group 3

Rather than go to the GP, a boy said he’s ask his mum, who was a nurse. But he might leave it for a day or two first.

School H, Group 1

Not mentioned.

Group 2

Not mentioned.

Group 3

(As I noted above, they were given information about some aspects such as relationships, and there was a clinic to discuss problems, but they wouldn’t use it.)

School X

There had been some interaction with the police about drugs, but that was presumably over taking them, because there was already a problem. No respect for the law or authority was evident, and the only contact with the police mentioned was in the context of drugs. They were not aware of any concern over the issue felt by parents.

School W, Group 1

PSE lessons in school were mentioned (B & G): these consisted of talks and worksheets and discussions. All agreed that they preferred discussions, and felt that they had a good enough relationship with each other to air issues openly. They did not seem to think there was a counselling service, although they did mention regular health checks. It seemed as if PSE lessons were important for giving information about what things were good for their health and what were bad.

Group 2

Outside speakers were mentioned – someone from the police and a lady (I couldn't hear what the lady talked to them about – it sounded like DARTS, not drugs, but that can't be right!) PSE lessons were also mentioned, as a way of promoting healthy eating and the desirability of taking exercise, but it did not seem as if the ones they had already had were particularly interesting or helpful. The same things were said over and over again. They had information on the subject of healthy eating (film, CD, or something similar) once per year. Issues they wished had been covered in more depth seemed to concern how to deal with people. They felt (B & G) that being given good information about important issues would "sometimes" help with decision-making.

(c). How relevant did you find the information you were given, and what advice do you think will be important to you in your future life?

School C, Group 1

Not mentioned.

Group 2

Not mentioned.

Group 3

Not mentioned.

School H, Group 1

The healthy eating issue would be relevant in later life, but it seemed that the food-choices of parents rather than the lessons given by the school were felt to be most important. When asked what issues they felt they would want their children to cover in PSE, they agreed (B & G) that the most important items were drink and drugs.

Group 2

Not mentioned.

Group 3

They were given "all sorts of stuff" (G) about issues like bullying. They did not say how effective this was.

School X

Not mentioned.

School W, Group 1

The group felt that issues concerning sexual relationships had been useful. Lessons they had learned included: Think before you act; don't be pushed; only do it if you feel like doing it.

Group 2

This group were unclear whether the information they had been given about making sensible choices regarding drugs, sex and so on had been effective or had made

them want to try out the behaviour concerned. One boy mentioned the experience of his father, but the tape was almost inaudible at this point.

Appendix 11 : Classification and Framing Relations at Secondary School level (11-18) in England

1. School culture

ISSUES ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH	F++	F+	F-	F- -
Rules and Regulations (REGULATIVE)	Overt and strictly applied sanctions. The importance of the school's reputation is paramount.	Teachers control activity rigidly, so that rules are not breached. Very overt.	Overt and appropriate sanctions given which may not be as written, so more person-centred.	Teachers loosely control activities, and are more flexible with imposing sanctions, which are less overt and more tacit. Pupils have more trust from teachers.
Praise and Rewards (REGULATIVE)	Very visible celebrations of success – steeped in ritual, done with specific aim of promoting the school in a formal and traditional setting. Eg. Speech Day.	School invites involvement of parents to selected token events. Visits to the school and meetings with staff are very formal.	Individuals are esteemed for their efforts, and are celebrated by staff and peers.	School involves parents and community in celebrating school successes. Events are more informal and relaxed.
Classroom behaviour (REGULATIVE)	Very strict and teacher demands respect. Pupil workload is heavy and has to be completed in a given time. Minimal noise level from students.	Students have no control over the pacing of the work or interaction within the classroom.	Teacher is less authoritarian, but expects set work to be finished on time. Some interaction with pupils, but still very formal.	Students are more able to take control of the pacing and have more interaction with teachers and peers in the class setting.
**Length of School Day (REGULATIVE)	Shorter day, divided into tight time units, with high staff presence at all times. Sanctions are strictly imposed in order to maintain discipline.	Some lessons have higher priority, so more time is allocated. Eg. Maths/Science/English.	Longer school day with the flexibility for pupils to have more personal space. Much lower staff presence due to high trust relationships.	All lessons are the same length of time. Pupils have more choice of subject options.

1. Culture continued	C++	C+	C-	C- -
School uniform (REGULATIVE)	School regulations require pupils to wear uniform at all times. There is no discretion and sanctions are applied if this rule is breached.	Pupils are expected to wear near enough the correct uniform. Sanctions are applied only if sports trainers and hoodies are worn.	Individual teacher discretion regarding the school uniform, and are more tolerant with slight variations. Occasional sanctions are applied.	Teachers can exercise individual discretion if pupils wear an approximation of the school colours and official uniform.
Pedagogic experience for the pupil	School is very aware of its local reputation and national standing via the League tables. All pupils are expected to achieve 10+ examinations by the end of Year 11. Day is very structured in order to accommodate all the subjects.	School has high expectations of all pupils and encourages both academic and vocational subjects to be studied. However, still expects good A-C grades at the end of Year 11.	Teachers expect good attendance from pupils, and that they work to the best of their ability at both academic and vocational subjects. Pupils are entered for national examinations, but final grades are not normally high.	Teaching methods are more varied and not so pressurised. Subject choice is more pupil-centred and flexible in that their preferences are accommodated.
Pupil's views about the school	Do not feel valued and are not encouraged to participate in any aspects of school life. Staff choose pupils for specific tasks.	Staff use 'special tasks' as a motivation for better behaviour/performance. Always comes with a proviso, and not always consistent.	Some teachers can be approached if a pupil has a problem, but many feel that they have little control.	Established School Council acts as a channel for pupil 'voice'. Feel that they are listened to and that opinions are valued. Pupils tend to volunteer for tasks and are involved at a number of levels in the life of the school.

2. Health Education in terms of knowledge acquisition

Issues arising from my Research	F++	F+	F-	F--
Sequencing Health Education lessons (DISCURSIVE)	Teacher-led, with very few opportunities for pupil discussion, E.g. Work-sheets which are school-generated and usually out-of-date.	Tightly planned courses with no lee-way. Very little effective dialogue with pupils because booklets are given out that do not get updated very often.	More varied approach to the teaching of Health Education. Outside agencies are involved e.g. School Nurse. Lessons may be from an 'off-the-shelf' lesson pack.	Programme of study has time built in for more student participation E.g. Group work/role play.
Selection of Health Education lesson content	Teacher decides what is to be taught. The boundaries between subjects are inflexible. The information is often out-of-date and far removed from pupil needs. Lessons are delivered in an uninteresting way with meaningless learning outcomes.	May show videos and work from prescriptive lesson packs. Avoids any potential embarrassing questions that teacher may have to answer because they are disinterested in the subject.	Involvement of outside agencies gives pupils a broader view of different aspects of Health Education. Lessons are more relevant and a number of subjects are "contaminated" by issues included in the HEd programme.	Different speakers, who have expertise in specific areas (e.g. Drugs/STI's) are invited in to give pupils 'real-life' information. Are involved in frank and honest discussions.
Pacing of Health Education lessons	There is no deviation from the set programme of study (PoS) and the tasks that are set. The PoS is a rolling programme that will be taught to the same age groups year on year.	Work is mostly teacher-led, but the time allowed for the topics to be finished is not so rigid. Little opportunity for the pupil to set the pace of their own learning.	Work is teacher-led, but it is more of a facilitator role giving pupils more opportunities to interject if it aids their understanding of a given task.	Topic areas are set, but content is more fluid and timescales for completion are looser. This enables the pupils to discuss issues as they arise and gives them more control over their learning needs.
Category of Pupil	Seen as product of the education process and high (A/A*) GCSE grades are expected as the norm.	Choice between academic and vocational studies, but majority are expected to gain 5+ A-C grades in the GCSE exams.	Pupil is seen more holistically and they have more input into Year 9 subject choices for GCSE. Will be expected to work to the best of their ability.	Pupil is a valued individual and their social development is deemed as important as academic success.

3. Subject Orientation in terms of importance within the curriculum

ISSUES ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH	C++	C+	C-	C--
'Political' importance	Government guidance documents have determined the content and prescribe the methods of delivery. E.g. Healthy Schools and PSHE Association documentation.	Core curricular subjects are deemed the most important – namely, Maths, Science and English. HEd input is ad hoc.	Schools work within the Government's guidance document framework, but have personalised the content to have more relevance to the school's population.	HEd teaching is accepted as contributing to the culture and ethos of the school, and remains on the curriculum because Ofsted look for this as an indicator of the ethos.
Subject discipline	Prescriptive and teacher-led.	Where HEd is cross-curricular, more subjects become "tainted".	HEd "taints" very few subjects in the school's curriculum.	HEd is geared towards pupil-centred learning methods with a number of approaches to aid understanding.
Time table arrangements for Health Education	Dedicated space with very definite boundaries.	PSHEed includes HEd and is taught jointly with Citizenship	HEd becomes part of other subjects so the boundaries blur.	Overtly and formally integrated into other subjects e.g. Science, P.E., Food Technology.

4. Teaching and Learning (in relation to the school as an Organisation)

ISSUES ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH	C++	C+	C-	C--
HORIZONTAL Teacher position in relation to subject.	'Balkanisation' where the subject areas remain totally separate e.g. the sciences	Subject discipline is the only area that an individual teaches.	Departments will cross subject boundaries and individuals can teach in other areas e.g. Maths and PE	Subject specialists teach Health Education together with primary subject.
VERTICAL Teachers position in relation to the job-role.	Primary subject taught is the only one that takes on importance in the mind of the practitioner	Duties specified in the job description are strictly followed.	Staff will participate in other subject areas if absolutely necessary e.g. Delivering Health Education during the Tutor Period.	Teachers will cross subject boundaries to deliver other subject areas in addition to their own e.g. Health Education
Planning of Health Education	Health Education is subsumed in Personal, Health and Social Education (PSHE), which in turn is delivered through the Citizenship programme.	The PSHE programme content is imposed from the Senior Management Team, with no deviation from the set work plans.	One teacher has the role of co-ordinating and planning the whole-school PSHE programme.	Interdisciplinary working party discusses and consults with all members of staff about the proposed programme of work for PSHE.
ISSUES ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH	F++	F+	F-	F--
External issues associated with the school as an organisation	School is strongly driven by Government policy and every associated with the school expect consistently high results. Working relations are formal and business-like.	High levels of success are expected of all pupils and stakeholders expect a good standard of achievement. They are involved at the request of the school, where interactions are more formal.	School puts the academic needs of their pupils first and offers subjects that are attainable, either academic or vocational. All stakeholders are supportive of the SMT and are active in school and support many events.	School has its own vision that is driven by internal desires. All Stakeholders are satisfied and let the SMT interpret and implement the Government's requirements in a way that compliments the school's culture. All stakeholders are frequent and welcomed visitors to the school.

(NB. Stakeholders include LEA personnel; Ofsted, members of the local community, parents and Governors.)